

GEORGE WASHINGTON

ILLUSTRATED





Frontispiece

WASHINGTON IN 1775.

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THE LIFE
OF
GEORGE WASHINGTON
STUDIED ANEW

BY

EDWARD EVERETT HALE

AUTHOR OF "A MAN WITHOUT A COUNTRY," "TEN TIMES ONE IS TEN," "THE STORY OF
SPAIN," ETC., ETC.

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PREFACE.

I HAVE been satisfied for many years that the time had come for a new view of the life and character of George Washington, a view to be taken after a careful study of his own memoranda, prepared for the history of his own life. As the reader of this book will learn, he left arranged in careful order for reference, perhaps more materials for his biography than any man of his century. But a certain habit of deifying him, a habit which I have attempted to explain in the last chapter, has thus far prevented writers of his life from approaching the study of the man in the way in which writers would address themselves to most biographical subjects.

Washington's diaries exist from his sixteenth year to the period of his death, with hardly an important break. He was very careful in the preservation of copies of his letters; and the distinction which he early earned was such, that many letters have been preserved by his correspondents, of which we have not his own copies. Speaking roughly, I should say that four fifths of these materials are still in manuscript. Naturally enough, for the first generation after his death, those writ-

ings which were studied most carefully were what we should now call public documents. The private letters were thought to be of less importance for history.

However this may have been then, it is clear enough now that they are of more importance than are public despatches, for the study of the character of the man. Believing Washington to have been a man preëminently human, evidently largely moulded by the circumstances of his youth and manhood, and, as I have said in another place, a person of hot passions, strong impulses, and vigorous determination, I have wished for many years that some author would study the manuscript material as I had studied it myself, and would present such a view of the life of Washington as that material affords. I could still wish that some one else had undertaken this duty; but, as no one has, when Mr. Putnam proposed to me that I should write a new life of Washington for the biographical series in which this volume belongs, I told him that I would gladly undertake the work for the purpose of which I have spoken. It is simply to present to the new generation of American readers the Human Washington in such a way that they may have some conception of the man, and of the advantages and disadvantages with which he worked through his great career.

EDWARD E. HALE,

ROXBURY, OCT. 1, 1887.



CONTENTS.

CHAPTER I.

BOYHOOD AND EDUCATION.

Birthplace of George Washington—His Father and Mother—A New Home near Fredericksburg—Early Training—Lawrence Washington—School Books—Land-Surveying—Death of Augustine Washington—The Fairfax Family and Marriage of Lawrence Washington—Mount Vernon and Belvoir—Letters Ascribed to Washington and Richard Henry Lee—Sea Life Proposed—The Proposal Abandoned—Lord Fairfax—Surveying as a Profession—George Washington's First Love—Trials—His Verses to "The Lowland Beauty"—His First Commission . . . 1

CHAPTER II.

EARLY MANHOOD.

Land-Surveying—Lord Fairfax—Work in the Valley of Virginia—Washington's Diary There—Life at Greenway Lodge—Accuracy of His Work—Good Education—His Brother's Illness—Bermuda—Return—His Brother's Death—Inherits Mount Vernon—Rules of Deportment. . . 16

CHAPTER III.

FIRST CAMPAIGN.

Emigration to the West—The Ohio Company—Appointment from Gov. Dinwiddie—A Winter Journey to Visit the French Commander—Venango and Fort Le Boeuf—Washington's Diary—The French Answer—A New Commission—War in Fact—The First Bullets—A Retreat—Fort Necessity—Carlyle's Account; Smollett's; the "Half-King's" Criticism—Washington's Welcome and Reception in Virginia 37

CHAPTER IV.

THE BRADDOCK CAMPAIGN.

The French War—Washington an Aide to Braddock—Correspondence with Orme—His Mother's Anxiety—Correspondence with Mrs. Fairfax—Meets Benjamin Franklin—The Advance toward Fort Duquesne—The Battle and Retreat—Washington's Letters—The English View of the Event—Mr. Davis's Prophecy—Legend of the Indian Chief 59

CHAPTER V.

WAR ON THE FRONTIER.

Return to Mount Vernon—Ill-Health—Another Campaign—Appointed to Command—Dinwiddie's Displeasure—William Shirley—Journey to Boston—Return—Miss Mary Philipse—War on the Frontier—Lord Loudoun—Mount Vernon Again—Hunting Shirts—Mrs. Custis—Love-Letters—A Successful Campaign 86

CHAPTER VI.

PEACE AND HOME.

Washington's Love of Home—His Marriage—Visit to Williamsburg—Mount Vernon—Administration of the Property of His Wife and Her Children—Correspondence with His English Agents—His Tobacco and Flour Excellent—Severe Illness—Purchases for Master John and Miss Patty Custis—His Indignation at Neglect of Duty—Agricultural Experiments—Fondness for Riding—Routine of a Country Day—Interest in Military Affairs—Love of Sport—Constant Interest in Public Business—Tour to Ohio Valley—John Custis's Education—Patty's Death—John's Marriage III

CHAPTER VII.

TROUBLE WITH ENGLAND.

The Court Party—The Stamp Act—Circular-Letter of the Massachusetts House of Representatives—George III.—Letter to George Mason—Non-Importation—Tea Taxes—"The Virginia Patriot"—The Boston Port-Bill—Extracts from Washington's Diary—The Fairfax Convention and Resolutions Adopted There—Opening of Congress—Public Speaking—Patrick Henry's Opinion—"A Kitchen Cabinet"—George III. Again—Joseph Warren—Washington's Diary at the Time of the Opening of Congress—Resolution on Acts of Parliament—The Second Virginia Convention and the Second Congress—Washington Appointed Commander-in-Chief 137

CHAPTER VIII.

APPOINTMENT AS GENERAL.

Appointment as General—John Adams's View of It—Appointments of Other Officers—Arrival at Cambridge—General Artemas Ward—Assumption of Command—Washington's War Policy—Condition of the Army and Supplies—Arnold's Expedition up the Kennebec—Washington's Letter Giving His Plan for It—War on the Seas—Instructions to John Glover and D. Moylan—Instructions to Winthrop Sargent Concerning Prizes, Harbors, etc.—Mrs. Washington's Visit to Camp at Cambridge—Capture of the *Nancy* by Marblehead Cruiser—Plan for Attack on Boston—Fortification of Dorchester Heights—Withdrawal of British from Boston—Note to General Ward—"Washington Street"—Head-Quarters in Boston—Fondness for Children—Transfer of Army to New York—First American Medal—Canadian Contingent—His Aides—Message from Admiral Lord Howe—Letter to "George Washington, Esq."—English Fleet—Crown Point and Ticonderoga—Plan for a Capture—Arrival of British Army at New York—Defeat at Brooklyn—Retreat to the City and to White Plains—Loss of Forts Lee and Washington—Mrs. Philipse—Retreat through Jersey—Battle of Trenton—Success at Princeton—Winter Quarters 160

CHAPTER IX.

1777-1778.

Washington's Stay at Morristown—Eclipse of the Sun—Mr. Alexander's Delays—Letter to a Faulty Officer—Thoughts for Virginia Affairs—Views on the Campaign—Assisting Gates and Watching Howe—Head-Quarters Moved to Middleburg—Howe's Expedition to Philadelphia—Battle of the Brandywine—Battle of Germantown—Head-Quarters at Valley Forge—The Conway Cabal—Light-Horse Harry—Clinton Replaces Howe—Battle of Monmouth—Count D'Estaing and the French Fleet—"A Complete Set of Camp Equipage"—Difficulty of Transactions with a Depreciated Currency—1778 Ends Better than It Began 204

CHAPTER X.

END OF THE WAR.

Necessary Inactivity of the Army—Clinton as Commander—Camp Table-Ware—Letter to Count D'Estaing—Arrival of French Fleet—Accounts Given by French Officers—Arnold's Treason—Washington's Letters in

Relation to It—Situation of the Army—Army Moves South from New York—Condition of Mt. Vernon—Army at Yorktown—Death of John Custis—Letter to Heath—Surrender of Cornwallis—Policy of English Government—Washington's Distrust—Henry Asgill—Officers of Continental Army 231

CHAPTER XI.

HOME REVISITED.

Return to Mt. Vernon—National Government—Army Views—Institution of Society of the Cincinnati—Letters to Maj.-Gen. Greene, on This Subject—Letter to Jefferson—His Portrait Painted for Count de la Solms—Letter to Count d'Estaing—Jewel Presented by French Seamen—Letter to Robert Morris Concerning Bushrod Washington—Journey to Western Lands—Letter to the Commandant at Pittsburg—Letter to Tench Tilghman about Greenhouse—Lafayette's Visit—Letter to Chastellux—Western Tour with Lafayette—Letter about Horse for "Little Washington" 263

CHAPTER XII.

INTERNAL IMPROVEMENTS, ETC.

Navigation of Potomac River—Letters to Counts de la Touche and Rochambeau—Letter to Gen. Knox—Effects of Overwork—Letter to Samuel Chase—Public Schools—Letter to Aeneas Lamont, Poet—Not "Marshal of France"—To George Wm. Fairfax, Refugee—Ruins of Belvoir—Condition of Private Affairs—To Jefferson—Loan in Europe—"Cumberland Road"—Present from Virginia Assembly—Western Emigration—To Richard Henry Lee in Congress—Treaty with Western Indians—Navigation of Mississippi—To Mr. Carmichael—Mercantile Interests—To M. de Marbois, French Minister—Mississippi River and the Spanish—To Mme. Lucretia Wilhelmina Van Winter, Holland, Acknowledging a Poem in His Praise—To Mr. Tilghman Concerning Private Secretary and His Duties—Mr. Tobias Lear, Secretary—Plans for the "Union"—Committee Meeting at Mount Vernon 290

CHAPTER XIII.

THE CONSTITUTION AND PRESIDENCY.

Letter to Mrs. Macaulay Graham, Historian—Letter to Mr. S. Purviance—Western Settlements—Political Reasons for Commercial Intercourse—Visit from Michaux, Botanist—Letter to Lafayette, with Present of

Hams—Letter to Dr. William Gordon, about His History of the Revolution—Federal Convention—Washington Its President—Notes from Diary, Time of Convention—Contemporary Opinion—Division of Parties—Journey to New York—Ovation at Trenton—Cabinet “Progresses”—Table Furniture—Second Term of Service—Discouraging Position of Affairs—Genet’s Intrigues—Cabinet Changes—The Whiskey Insurrection—New Change in the Cabinet—National Prosperity—Farewell to Office—Return to Mount Vernon 311

CHAPTER XIV.

CLOSING YEARS AT MOUNT VERNON.

Return to Mount Vernon—Building and Repairs—Letter to Strickland—To Sinclair—Habits of Home-Life—Library at Mount Vernon—Paintings and Engravings—Lawrence Lewis and Nellie Custis—George Washington Lafayette—Letter to Anderson—Letter on Lending Money—Letter to Goodhue—Commander-in-Chief Again—Miss Custis’s Marriage—Mrs. Washington—The Last Year—Letter to Robert Lewis—Washington’s Final Illness—His Death—Dr. Craik’s Treatment 338

CHAPTER XV.

CONCLUSION.

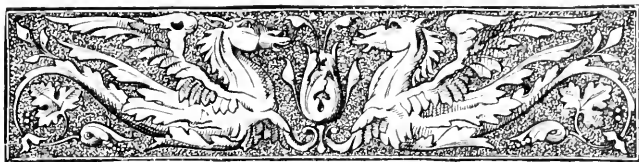
Washington’s Services and Influences—The Mystery That Grew Up about His Moral Character—His Apotheosis as a Kind of Demi-God—His Utterances Treated as Those of an Oracle—The Truth of History—The Human Washington as Revealed in His Diaries and Correspondence—His Power over Men—His Ideas and Ambitions—His Character as a Moral Power—His Life an Evidence That Right Is Might . 373





LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS.

WASHINGTON IN 1775	<i>Frontispiece.</i>
RESIDENCE OF WASHINGTON FAMILY	2
WASHINGTON AS SURVEYOR	17
IN CAMP	21
BOOK OF SURVEYS	23
EARLY MANUSCRIPT	29
WASHINGTON AT WINCHESTER	39
PLAN OF LINE OF ARMY MARCH	41
MARTHA WASHINGTON	113
WASHINGTON AND FAMILY AT MOUNT VERNON	117
PORTRAIT OF WASHINGTON	159
WASHINGTON CROSSING THE DELAWARE	197
MAP OF NEW JERSEY	199
WASHINGTON AT PRINCETON	201
WASHINGTON CREST	203
WASHINGTON AT VALLEY FORGE	219
MAP OF WESTCHESTER	245
MOUNT VERNON	265
WASHINGTON'S VISITING CARD	289
LETTER TO FRANKLIN	291
INAUGURATION	327
FIRST PRESIDENTIAL MANSION	331
INDEPENDENCE HALL	341
WASHINGTON MEDAL	369
TOMB AT MOUNT VERNON	371
BOOK PLATE	372
WASHINGTON'S SIGNATURES	379



INTRODUCTION.

MANY lives of Washington have been written. But I have long wished to attempt another, and when Messrs. Putnam determined to include in this series a new life of him, and were good enough to consult me with regard to it, I told them my wish,—and they have permitted me to write for the series on my plan.

The wish is simply to make Washington his own biographer,—more largely than he has been permitted to be in the standard biographies. Few men have left so large a collection of materials, exactly adapted for such biography, as he. He kept a diary almost all his life, and most of the volumes of this diary are at hand for use.

It is true that a diary is not a biography; it is something very different. Indeed, it does not reveal much of a man's character. But it does much to help us in the arrangement of other materials from which we can study character.

Besides these diaries it happens that Washington left letter-books in an almost unbroken series,

which contain almost the whole of his immense correspondence, from the beginning of the French War to the day of his death. Add to this, that for the last twenty-five years of his life, he was the most distinguished man in America. Every man's eye was upon him, and his words and deeds were chronicled with eagerness, sometimes with affection, as were those of no other man. •

On the other hand, he was a central figure in American history. It has for this reason seemed almost impossible to his biographers to write his life without writing the history of the country. They are sometimes betrayed into extraordinary excursions. Thus, in the two longest lives of Washington, Marshall's and Irving's, there are long chapters in which he is not named. I do not say that I am sorry that those chapters were written. Judge Marshall's study of American history is too important, and Mr. Irving's is too entertaining for us to abridge either by a single sentence. But, all the same, such chapters are not the life of Washington. It can hardly be said that they help us to know the man, or rightly to estimate his character.

What is more, and what has seemed to me unfortunate is this: Washington rendered the country such peerless service; he was so loyal to her, and so unselfish; he made so few mistakes, and was on the whole so magnificently successful, that all his biographers, without an exception known to me,

have treated him with a certain deference, as if, indeed, he were hardly a man. It is not simply that they are unwilling to speak of faults. For we may "make too much of faults," as Mr. Carlyle says wisely. But they seem to suppose that he had not the ordinary human fancies, feelings, habits, affections or motives. They lift him, step by step, in a mechanical way, over the board, as you might move a piece in chess when your turn came. We are apt to have Washington the General, Washington the Statesman, Washington the President, almost Washington the Demi-god, where we hardly find Washington the Man.

Now, I suppose it to be the business of a biographer to try to present his subject so that people who read shall know him better,—his character, his habits, his purposes, his success, or, simply, the essentials of his life. I should not say that it was necessary, in writing the life of Walter Scott, to give an account of the story of Marmion, or of Ivanhoe. I should say that you might write a life of Florence Nightingale, without one word of detail as to the methods employed in the hospitals under her direction. As Judge Marshall himself said, "We must take something for granted." I should say then that the life of Washington does not need any detailed account of Arnold's failure at Quebec, or Greene's success at Eutaw. I should go further, and precisely as I might write a life of Shakespeare,

without giving the plot of Richard II., I think I could write a life of Washington, without giving his plan for the battle of Brandywine. "The court is supposed to know something," and if the prime business we are engaged in is the study of the life of the Human Washington, then in that study the history of America is a wholly secondary study. The writer has the same sort of right to leave it in the background, as he has to leave undecided the questions whether Washington's tobacco should or should not have been stemmed, or whether he should have paid for his clover seed four shillings a bushel or five.

These views seem to me so sound, that I should have been glad to write a treatise rather than a biography, to be called "The Human Washington," making such a study of his character as most commonplace biographers make of average men. I even proposed to Messrs. Putnam to write for their series the life of Washington, with the omission of the French War, the Revolution, and the Presidency. This treatment seemed to them somewhat too heroic for such a series as that now in hand, and probably it was. But there are some reasons to justify such a consideration of the subject, which I should like to commend to those who will follow me in this field.

For let it be remembered that from the year 1748, when Washington's active life began, to 1799, when

he died, are fifty-one years. Twenty-one of these were spent in the service of his country, in public life of the highest activity. In regard to the relative importance of their history it would, on the face of it, be absurd to compare against those critical years, the other years spent in the planting of tobacco, in the hunting of foxes, in the training of children, in building canals, in settling a wilderness, or in sitting for a portrait. All this is granted. But it happens very naturally that the thirty years of peaceful life show the man as he was, show his character, its motives, his purposes—his life, in short, in far more detail than will the eager correspondence or the stately despatches of a public character. There is not one of us who would not rather have the record of the evening talk of Macaulay at the dinner-table of a friend, than the official record of a month of his work as a member of the government of India. Yet if Mr. Trevelyan had padded his life of Macaulay by giving three quarters of it to Macaulay's public service in India, Bombay, and Calcutta, he would have served his readers exactly as most biographers of Washington have served theirs.

I do not say that I have myself steered clear of the mistakes which I have been describing. I do not believe I have. But I indulge myself in this criticism that I may give any friendly reader a clue to the path I have tried to follow. I have tried to

use Washington's words where I could, without making the narrative too long. I have quoted his diaries very freely, even where the incidents themselves were unimportant. And, especially where I have at any length given the history of events in which he was not the principal actor, it has been simply because he is the historian. For a marked instance, I have printed a long narrative of Arnold's treason. But this is not because it is Arnold's treason, but because it is Washington's narrative, a narrative which I believe has not before been published.

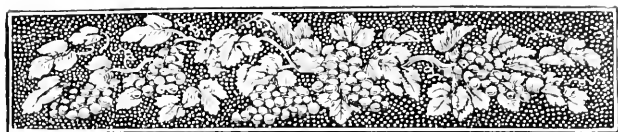
And thus I am led to say that in other instances, where the reader may think I have violated my own rules for biography, I have done so because the special document given has not before come into print, and seems to me too curious to be longer kept concealed. Thus if Washington bought lottery tickets, and wanted to know if he had drawn prizes, there is no reason for striking out from his letters the mention of such incident. In almost every instance the extracts from his letters here printed are made from the manuscripts, and have never before been printed in any permanent collection.

It is curious to observe that Franklin secured to himself by his masterly autobiography a treatment exactly the reverse of that which has been meted out to Washington. He wrote so good a life of himself that no one has ever wanted to write an-

other ; if indeed he had ever concluded it, it would be safe to say that no one would ever have written another.

Mr. John Bigelow took up the broken thread of Franklin's life at the age of fifty-one, and completed it, as far as the printed materials would permit, from his own letters. In the book which is in the reader's hands, I have not limited myself absolutely to Washington's own narrative. There are, indeed, many occasions, some of them of the most critical character, where such material would fail us. As John Adams says, when a man is engaged on the most important matters, he has no time to be writing down the story of them. But Washington made more time than most men did. His personal record of his life's work is singularly full. And, as the reader will see, I have largely used that record so far as it is preserved.





THE LIFE OF GEORGE WASHINGTON.

CHAPTER I.

BOYHOOD AND EDUCATION.

Birthplace of George Washington—His Father and Mother—A New Home near Fredricksburg—Early Training—Lawrence Washington—School Books—Land-Surveying—Death of Augustine Washington—The Fairfax Family and Marriage of Lawrence Washington—Mt. Vernon and Belvoir—Letters Ascribed to Washington and Richard Henry Lee—Sea Life Proposed—The Proposal Abandoned—Lord Fairfax—Surveying as a Profession—Geo. Washington's First Love-Trials—His Verses to "The Lowland Beauty"—His First Commission.

ON the day of George Washington's birth, there was nothing to suggest that he was to be the foremost man of his time. He was born in an old Virginia farm-house in Westmoreland County, on a spot which overlooks the Potomac River, near where Bridge's Creek falls into that river. His father was Augustine Washington, who had, two years before, married Mary Ball. George Washington was her oldest son; she had afterwards three other sons and two daughters. By another wife Augustine Washington had two sons

older than George,—named Lawrence and Augustine. George Washington was born in 1732, on the day which corresponds to the 22d of February in our style.¹

There is not now a vestige of the house remaining. It was an old-fashioned Virginia farm-house ; a low-pitched, single-story, frame building, with four rooms on the first floor, and an enormous chimney



RESIDENCE OF THE WASHINGTON FAMILY.

at each end on the outside. The spot is visible from the deck of the steamboat as one goes to Norfolk from the city of Washington ; but is a considerable distance below Mt. Vernon.

¹ According to the old style it was the eleventh of February. The original record of his baptism is preserved. It is in these words : “George Washington, son to Augustine and Mary his wife, was born the 11th Day of February, 1731-2, about 10 in the morning, and was Baptiz'd the 3: of April following, Mrs. Beverly Whiting & Capt. Christopher Brooks, Godfathers, and Mrs. Mildred Gregory, Godmother.”

Two or three decayed fig-trees and some shrubs may be found, with a flower or two, which mark perhaps where a garden was. Mr. George W. Custis placed a stone there some years since, to mark the site of the house as the birthplace of Washington.

Not long after his birth, his father removed to another farm opposite the town of Fredericksburg. The dwelling was another of the old Virginia farm-houses, and stood on rising ground overlooking a meadow above the Rappahannock River. In the encampment of the Union forces opposite Fredericksburg in the year 1863, this ground became familiar to thousands of men, for whom the legends of Washington had an especial interest. The house itself, however, has long since disappeared, and a few broken bits of bricks are almost the only memorial, on the spot, of its existence.

Augustine Washington would never have been remembered in the world, but for the distinction which attaches to his son. It would seem, however, that that son owed to him much, for the direction which he gave to his early education, which was well carried out both as to intellectual pursuits and moral training. The anecdotes which have amused and instructed millions of children, in which the father and the child appear together, have perhaps, in all instances, a foundation of truth. Every thing which is known of Augustine Washington's character is

such as to lead us to respect him. Mary Ball, George's mother, at the period of her marriage to Augustine Washington, was a beautiful girl, of whom tradition says fondly, that she was the belle of that part of Virginia. Surer evidence than that of tradition shows that she brought up her boys and girls happily, firmly, righteously, and successfully. Washington's letters to her all evince great personal regard and respect, and the memorials of her, of which there are more than we have of her husband, are such as show that this respect was well deserved.

His half-brother, Lawrence Washington, eight years older than himself, had also a very large share in the education of George. So far as we know, the influence which he had over him was always good ; and it is certain that the younger brother always respected his advice and regretted sincerely his early death. In those days the advantages for education which Northern Virginia afforded, were not brilliant ; but they were sufficiently good to give to this boy a good training in the best elements of an English education. So regular were his habits in after life that he preserved many of his early school-books, and we can still examine specimens of the writing-books and of some of the volumes in which he was trained in arithmetic and higher mathematics.

The needs of the country in which he lived, sug-

gested the study of land-surveying. The boy's field books were kept regularly and neatly when he was at an early age, as he prepared himself, with such advice as the neighborhood could offer, for the profession of a surveyor, and it was as a surveyor that he did his first man's work. The simple home-life of these early years was broken up when George was but eleven years old, by the sudden death of his father. At the moment of his first illness, George was absent from home ; but he was sent for and returned in time to be recognized by his father before he died. Augustine Washington was, after the standard of the time, a rich man. He left to George, when he should become of age, the house and lands on the Rappahannock, which was the only home that the boy remembered.

Lawrence Washington, the oldest brother, received, by his father's will, the estate now well-known to Americans under the name of Mt. Vernon, and he made this his residence. The second son, Augustine, took up his abode at a house built near the old homestead on Bridge's Creek, where George had been born. George himself, with his younger brothers and sisters, remained at his mother's house, near Fredericksburg, and it is here that most of his early education was carried on.

Lawrence Washington, his brother, married, very soon after his father's death, Annie Fairfax, the daughter of William Fairfax, an English gentleman

who had settled in Virginia. He had been the governor of the island of New Providence. He lived at Belvoir, not far from Fredericksburg, in the style of an English country-gentleman, surrounded by an intelligent family. With his sons, daughters, and other relatives, George Washington was brought into close intimacy through his brother's marriage to Miss Fairfax.

The farm-house on the Rappahannock was not far from the site of Mt. Vernon or Belvoir. As the boy grew up, he was often in the home of his brother and of the relatives of his sister-in-law. His letters and journals show that his life, in the earlier years of youth, was spent as much with them as at his mother's home. He enjoyed the young society of his time, always, perhaps, with a certain shyness which never left him in after life, and was observed even when he made "progresses" as President, fifty years after the time of which we speak. This did not prevent his mingling in society; he was fond of athletic exercises, in which, as early traditions show, he trained himself assiduously. He read well and was fond of reading, and had the best books at command. He engaged with interest in all the sports of his country and of his age. He had the advantages which belong to a young man born to a competence, and his life passed, on the whole, pleasantly.

Schools, except, perhaps, for little children, were

nearly inaccessible to him at that time. And he was never sent away from home to school. There is one and another reference to some person employed as a tutor in the family. There is quite sufficient evidence that the boy was not permitted to run wild,—after his father's death more than before. His mother's hand was firm, and that of his brother Lawrence probably not weaker.

Within a few years past, there have been published two little letters, one pretending to be from Richard Henry Lee, at the age of eight, and the other the reply to it, by George Washington, at the age of nine. They will amuse our readers and we therefore print them. But it is not as a bit of history, that they appear here. They are, probably, an illustration of clever literary work, attempting, at the end of a century, to reproduce the phases of the past. They must be read with extreme caution. In the first place, it is very improbable that in such a family as that of the Lees, these letters should have been hidden for a hundred years. Indeed, no one explains to us whether Master Richard Henry Lee, at that early age, had a letter book in which he kept rough copies of the notes which he was going to send to a friend. In the second place, the letters have the difficulty which all such imagined correspondence has, that they show us just what we already know, and that they do not add to our information any

thing of even the very smallest detail. There is a clever effort made to sustain the reputation which Washington afterwards acquired for spelling well, and poor Master Lee is relegated back to the ranks of those who cannot spell. The letters, however, must be classed with a very large number of myths, some of them interesting and some of them very stupid, which the enthusiasm of a hundred years has encouraged in relation to Washington and the different details of his career. These make the misery of his biographer.

The boy letters are these :

FROM RICHARD H. LEE TO GEO. WASHINGTON.

“ Pa brought me two pretty books full of pictures he got them in Alexandria they have pictures of dogs and cats and tigers and elephants and ever so many pretty things cousin bids me send you one of them it has a picture of an elephant and a little indian boy on his back like uncle jo's sam pa says if I learn my tasks good he will let uncle jo bring me to see you will you ask your ma to let you come to see me.

“ RICHARD HENRY LEE.”

To which this is the answer :

“ Dear Dickey, I thank you very much for the pretty picture book you gave me. Sam asked me to show him the pictures and I showed him all the pictures in it ; and I read to him how the tame Elephant took care of the master's little boy, and put him on his back and would not let anybody touch his master's little son. I can read three

or four pages sometimes without missing a word. Ma says I may go to see you and stay all day with you next week if it be not rainy. She says I may ride my pony Hero if Uncle Ben will go with me and lead Hero. I have a little piece of poetry about the picture book you gave me, but I mustn't tell you who wrote the poetry.

“ G. W.'s compliments to R. H. L.,
And likes his book full well,
Henceforth will count him his friend,
And hopes many happy days he may spend.

“ Your good friend,
“ GEORGE WASHINGTON.”

George Washington was about fourteen years old when the proposal was seriously entertained at his mother's home that he should be sent to sea. It is thought that some steps were taken to obtain a midshipman's warrant for him. But in this case a very sound letter of advice from her brother in London, dissuaded Mrs. Washington from carrying out this plan. The traditions are that she herself was unwilling to expose him to the dangers of a sailor's life, and had yielded, rather unwillingly, to his boyish eagerness for the service. It was a time when the successes of the English navy were such as to excite enthusiasm. The capture of Porto Bello was recent, an event which then was a matter of great triumph, and which has indeed escaped total forgetfulness in another century, because it forms the subject of two or three chapters in one of the great novels of that time.

It is remembered that Lawrence Washington, who had served in the provincial contingent against Carthagea, received from Admiral Vernon a copy of the medal struck in honor of the victory. This medal bears the quaint inscriptions : " Glory revived by Admiral Vernon," and again, " He took Porto Bello with six ships only."

The letter of her brother was a sufficient excuse to permit Mrs. Washington to change all the plans for seamanship. Picturesque traditions, to which most American children have been educated, represent the boy as already dressed in the midshipman's uniform, when his mother determined that he should stay at home. The story says that his luggage was already on board the ship.

He did stay at home, however. That is, he stayed in Virginia, sometimes at his mother's house, sometimes at his brother's in Mt. Vernon, and sometimes at Belvoir, the home of the Fairfaxes, opposite Mt. Vernon, on the river. At Belvoir he met Lord Fairfax, the cousin of Lawrence Washington's father-in-law, and the owner of immense landed estates in Virginia. Lord Fairfax became very fond of him, and interested himself personally in his education. He was a very interesting man, who had removed from England in the early part of the century, to reside on his Virginia estates. He had lived in England long enough to win the respect of some of the best Englishmen ; he was well educated and, in-

deed, versed in the best accomplishments of the age ; and thus he brought to the little colony a good illustration of the life of the best English society. He had been the companion of Addison and of Steele, and contributed one or two papers to the *Spectator*. We have letters of his which show an easy pen, and we may thank him for the simplicity and directness of Washington's literary style, which suffers little by comparison with that of Franklin or other of the best writers of our language. Lord Fairfax became fond of George Washington, the younger brother of his cousin's son-in-law, and to his interest the young man owed the first steps in his career.

There is a certain satisfaction in knowing that the clear and simple English in which Washington expressed himself in his later life, was an accomplishment for which he was, in large part at least, indebted to the personal tuition of the friend of Joseph Addison. And when one observes the thorough good-breeding which characterized George Washington, in his intercourse with the highest or with the lowest, one remembers with interest, that his training in that side of morals which we call manners, had such assistance as could be given him by one of the best trained gentlemen of his time.

We must satisfy our curiosity by such imaginations as we can form of the life of an intelligent, active, pure-minded boy, living in that fortunate climate of Northern Virginia, where he can be much in the open

air, among people who are disposed to encourage him in his out-door pursuits, and in training for a work which requires him to attend much to out-door exercise. In the midst of such life he has the great opportunities that are offered by frequent visits at the home of George Fairfax and at Mt. Vernon. Life is not without its social attractions, and his education by no means limited to the requirements of a country surveyor, but is that of a young Virginia gentleman, surrounded with the best which his time has to offer. It is in the midst of such social attractions that Washington met one young lady, who is remembered under the fond appellation of "The Lowland Beauty." Her real name is not certainly known. He was but fifteen years old at the time, but the charms of "The Lowland Beauty" were enough to make him very miserable. And he had been trained by Lord Fairfax enough in the very dangerous art of the writing of verses to try his boy powers in that direction.

We find, therefore, in one of the early note-books, in the midst of scraps of surveyor's memoranda and an occasional copy, perhaps, of an engineer's formula, two different experiments upon poems which he addressed to the cruel Lowland Beauty. It may readily be imagined that she was some young lady a little older than himself, who, in the midst of other admiration, disregarded the homage of her boy lover. We copy below, from the original

manuscript, the two sets of verses. From a literary point of view nothing could possibly be worse. In the view of the historian or biographer, they have the interest which attaches to every experiment which a boy who has proved distinguished has made in the early exercise of his powers.

Oh ye Gods why should my Poor Resistless Heart
 Stand to oppose thy might and Power
 At Last surrender to cupid's feather'd Dart,
 And now lays Bleeding every Hour.
 For her that's pitiless of my grief and Woes
 And will not on me Pity take.
 He sleep amongst my most inveterate Foes
 And with gladness never wish to wake.
 In deluding sleepings let my eyelids close,
 That in an enraptured Dream I may
 In a soft lulling sleep and gentle repose
 Possess those joys denied by Day.

From your bright sparkling Eyes, I was undone ;
 Rays, you have, rays more transparent than the sun,
 Amidst its glory in the rising Day,
 None can you equal in your bright array :
 Constant in your calm and unspotted mind ;
 Equal to all, but will to none Prove kind,
 So knowing, seldom one so young you'l Find.
 Ah, woe's me, that I should Love and conceal
 Long have I wish'd but never dare reveal,
 Even though severely Love's Pain I feel ;
 Xerxes that great, was't free from Cupid's Dart,
 And all the greatest Heroes, felt the smart.

The Virginian traditions seem to imply that the lady in question was Miss Grimes of Westmore-

land, who afterwards married the very Master Lee whose imagined correspondence on the subject of the elephant we have already cited.

If this be so, she became afterwards the mother of "Light-Horse Harry," whom we shall meet again in the accounts of the Revolution. It was left for him to pronounce upon Washington the noblest eulogy which has, perhaps, ever been spoken on any man. He said truly that Washington was "first in war, first in peace, and first in the hearts of his countrymen." It is pleasant to believe that in the cordial letter which Washington afterwards wrote to Lee, and which the reader will find in its place, congratulating him on his success in a brilliant military exploit, there lurked some fond memories of the old boy days when he was writing verses to "The Lowland Beauty."

It is interesting, again, to those who from the distance of a hundred years look back at this enthusiasm, to remember that "The Lowland Beauty" was the grandmother of Gen. Robert E. Lee who, as commander of the forces of the Confederate States in the war of the rebellion, showed such distinguished military skill.

Lord Fairfax, himself, had left England with a broken heart from some misadventure in love. Of this the history is not preserved. His young friend and pupil learned from him or from somebody the secret of mastering his sorrows, if indeed

there were any sorrows. What is certain is, that he entered into a fresh open-air life, as the surveyor whose services were needed by Lord Fairfax in marking out the boundaries of his vast domains.

Lord Fairfax had large grants in what we now call "the valley of Virginia." He was preparing to build for himself a house in that country which should be his permanent home. Although he never carried out this purpose, he did build a lodge where he often resided, and where indeed, forty years after, he died, at the age of ninety-two. Lord Fairfax entrusted the boy surveyor with the work of surveying the boundaries of this estate, and so well did he succeed in it, that he was able to present himself, in the regular order of the sensible civil service of that day, before the President and Master of William & Mary College. They appointed him to be surveyor of Culpepper County, and his first commission in the service of his country is that which they gave him when he was but seventeen years old. The record of it still exists in these words :

"George Washington, Gent., produced a commission from the President and Master of William & Mary College, appointing him to be surveyor of this county, which was read, and thereupon he took the usual oaths to his Majesty's person and government, and took and subscribed the abjuration oath and test, and then took the oath of a surveyor, according to law."



CHAPTER II.

EARLY MANHOOD.

Land-Surveying—Lord Fairfax—Work in the Valley of Virginia—Washington's Diary There—Life at Greenway Lodge—Accuracy of His Work—Good Education—His Brother's Illness—Bermuda—Return—His Brother's Death—Inherits Mt. Vernon—Rules of Deportment.

THIS commission had been fairly earned. There is no doubt that George Washington was a good land-surveyor. Land-surveying was the duty that came next his hand, and that duty he did well though he was but a boy of fifteen. The pride and fondness of later days preserved the memory of the names of several special teachers who claimed the credit of having trained him.

Lord Fairfax invited him one day to join in a fox chase and was delighted with his courage, his horsemanship, and his address. The old nobleman watched the lad, and saw how well he understood the business he had engaged in. He proposed to him to go out with George Fairfax, his son, who was now twenty-two years old, and undertake some of the surveys which were necessary in his Shenandoah property. For this purpose they left Mt. Vernon in March, 1748, and were absent in the woods for more than a month. His little diary

which he kept during the expedition tells the story so briefly that it is well worth transcribing.

March 13th. Rode to his Lordship's (Lord Fairfax's) quarter. About four miles higher up the river Shenandoah we went through most beautiful groves of sugar



WASHINGTON AS SURVEYOR.

trees, and spent the best part of the day in admiring the trees and richness of the land.

14th. We sent our baggage to Captain Hite's, near Fredericktown (afterwards Winchester), and went ourselves down the river about sixteen miles (the land exceedingly

rich all the way, producing abundance of grain, hemp, and tobacco), in order to lay off some land on Cate's Marsh and Long Marsh.

15th. Worked hard till night, and then returned. After supper we were lighted into a room, and I, not being so good a woodsman as the rest, stripped myself very orderly, and went into the bed, as they called it, when to my surprise I found it to be nothing but a little straw matted together, without sheet or any thing else, but only one threadbare blanket, with double its weight of vermin. I was glad to get up and put on my clothes, and lie as my companions did. Had we not have been very tired, I am sure we should not have slept much that night. I made a promise to sleep so no more, choosing rather to sleep in the open air before a fire.

18th. We travelled to Thomas Berwick's on the Potomac, where we found the river exceedingly high, by reason of the great rains that had fallen among the Alleghanies. They told us it would not be fordable for several days, it being now six feet higher than usual, and rising. We agreed to stay till Monday. We this day called to see the famed Warm Springs. We camped out in the field this night.

20th. Finding the river not much abated, we in the evening swam our horses over to the Maryland side.

21st. We went over in a canoe and travelled up the Maryland side all day, in a continued rain, to Colonel Cresap's, over against the mouth of the South Branch, about forty miles from the place of starting in the morning, and over the worst road, I believe, that ever was trod by man or beast.

23d. Rained till about 2 o'clock and then cleared up, when we were greatly surprised at the sight of more than

thirty Indians coming from war with only one scalp. We had some liquor with us, of which we gave them a part. This, elevating their spirits, put them in the humor of dancing. We then had a war-dance. After clearing a large space and making a great fire in the middle, the men seated themselves around it and the speaker made a grand speech, telling them in what manner they were to dance. After he had finished, the best dancer jumped up, as one awaked from sleep, and ran and jumped about the ring in a most comical manner. He was followed by the rest. Then began their music, which was performed with a pot half full of water and a deerskin stretched tight over it, and a gourd with some shot in it to rattle, and a piece of horse's tail tied to it to make it look fine. One person kept rattling and another drumming all the while they were dancing.

25th. Left Cresap's, and went up to the mouth of Patterson's Creek. There we swam our horses over the Potomac, and went over ourselves in a canoe, and travelled fifteen miles, where we camped.

26th. Travelled up to Solomon Hedge's Esquire, one of his Majesty's justices of the peace in the county of Frederic, where we camped. When we came to supper, there was neither a knife on the table, nor a fork to eat with; but, as good luck would have it, we had knives of our own.

28th. Travelled up the South Branch (having come to that river yesterday), about thirty miles to Mr. J. R.'s (horse-jockey), and about seventy miles from the mouth of the river.

29th. This morning went out and surveyed five hundred acres of land. Shot two wild turkeys.

30th. Began our intended business of laying off lots.

April 2d. A blowing, rainy, night. Our straw, upon

which we were lying, took fire, but I was luckily preserved by one of our men awaking when it was in a flame. We have run off four lots this day.

4th. This morning Mr. Fairfax left us, with the intention to go down to the mouth of the river. We surveyed two lots and were attended with a great company of people, men, women, and children, who followed us through the woods, showing their antic tricks. They seemed to be as ignorant set of people as the Indians. They would never speak English, and when spoken to, they all spoke Dutch. This day our tent was blown down by the violence of the wind.

6th. The last night was so intolerably smoky, that we were obliged to leave our tent to the mercy of the wind and fire. Attended this day by the aforesaid company.

7th. This morning one of our men killed a wild turkey, that weighed twenty pounds. We surveyed fifteen hundred acres of land, and returned to Vannmeter's about one o'clock. I took my horse and went up to see Mr. Fairfax. We slept in Cassey's house, which was the first night I had slept in a house since we came to the Branch.

8th. We breakfasted at Cassey's, and rode down to Vannmeter's to get our company together, which, when we had accomplished, we rode down below the Trough to lay off lots there. The Trough is a couple of ledges of mountains impassable, running side by side for seven or eight miles, and the river between them. You must ride round the back of the mountains to get below them. We camped in the woods, and after we had pitched our tent, and made a large fire, we pulled out our knapsacks to recruit ourselves. Every one was his own cook. Our spits were forked sticks; our plates were large chips. As for dishes, we had none.

10th. We took our farewell of the Branch and travelled over hills and mountains to Cuddy's on Great Cacapehon about forty miles.

12th. Mr. Fairfax got safe home, and I to my brother's house at Mount Vernon, which concludes my journal.



IN CAMP.

In the little volume which contains this journal, are the rough drafts of letters written during the same period. They are imperfect and of very little importance. One of them is descriptive of his adventures, at a period somewhat later than that of the details above.

“DEAR RICHARD :

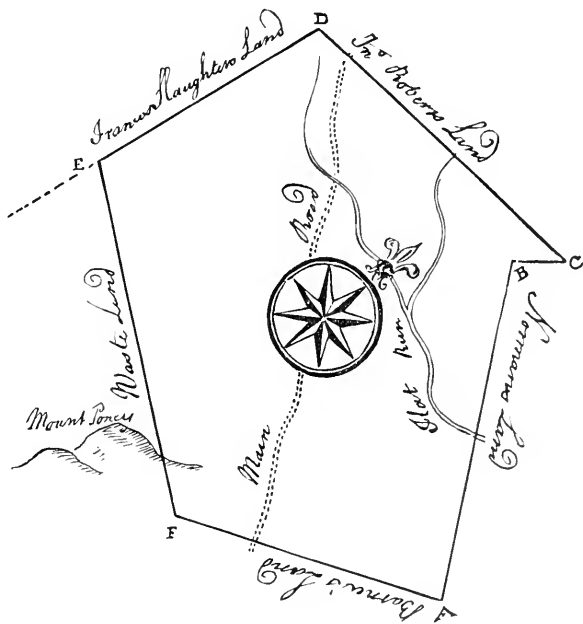
“The receipt of your kind favor of the 2d instant afforded me unspeakable pleasure, as it convinces me that I am still in the memory of so worthy a friend,—a friendship I shall ever be proud of increasing. Yours gave me the more pleasure, as I received it among barbarians and an uncouth set of people. Since you received my letter of October last, I have not slept above three or four nights in a bed, but, after walking a good deal all the day, I have lain down before the fire upon a little hay, straw, fodder, or a bearskin, whichever was to be had, with man, wife, and children, like dogs and cats; and happy is he who gets the berth nearest the fire. Nothing would make it pass off tolerably but a good reward. A doubloon is my constant gain every day that the weather will permit of my going out, and sometimes six pistoles. The coldness of the weather will not permit of my making a long stay, as the lodging is rather too cold for the time of the year. I have never had my clothes off, but have lain and slept in them, except the few nights I have been in Fredericktown.”

A letter of about the same date shows that the open air and active life had not wholly swept away the memories of his heart-sickness.

“My place of residence is at his Lordship’s where I might, were my heart disengaged, pass my time very pleasantly, as there is a very agreeable young lady in the house, Col. George Fairfax’s wife’s sister. But that only adds fuel to the fire, as being often and unavoidably in company with her, revives my former passion for your Lowland Beauty; whereas, were I to live more retired



A
BOOK of SURVEY'S
Began
^d
JULY 22: 1749



from young women, I might, in some measure, alleviate my sorrow by burying that chaste and troublesome passion in oblivion and I am very well assured that this will be the only antidote or remedy."

His life as a surveyor began in practice, as the journal we have cited shows, as early as 1748, the year before he received his commission as surveyor for Culpepper. Even at this early age he won more than a local distinction for the accuracy of his work. Now that all that county is settled, there is, of course, frequent occasion for testing it, and it is interesting to know that the surveyors of to-day confirm his accuracy and skill.

Looking back on such an education as has been described, almost any intelligent young American would wish he might have such good fortune. Good training at home, freedom from the cares of poverty, a large family of brothers and sisters, good teachers when he needed teachers, good society among people of the best training of his time, books enough of the best, and time enough to read them, with an open-air life in a congenial and temperate climate, work to do which he liked, with reasonable compensation, and enough of it, in the intervals of which he spent his time in the home of an English nobleman, who had had wide experience of the most cultivated society. Such were the experiences of the years which we commonly call the years of education.

It could, of course, be said that the conditions and limitations of this education were somewhat provincial, but it happened curiously enough that in his twentieth year it was necessary that he should take a voyage away from home. His brother Lawrence was sinking into consumption. It was hoped that he would be benefited by a voyage to the West Indies. George was recalled from his surveying and Greenway Court to accompany him, and they sailed for Barbadoes in September, 1751. His little diary, with its narrative of what passed there, is curious, and again we make some extracts from it.

Nov. 4th, 1751. This morning received a card from Major Clark, welcoming us to Barbadoes, with an invitation to breakfast and dine with him. We went,—myself with some reluctance, as the small-pox was in his family. We were received in the most kind and friendly manner by him. Mrs. Clark was much indisposed, insomuch that we had not the pleasure of her company, but in her place officiated Miss Roberts, her niece, and an agreeable young lady. After drinking tea we were again invited to Mr. Carter's, and desired to make his house ours till we could provide lodgings agreeable to our wishes, which offer we accepted.

5th. Early this morning came Dr. Hilary, an eminent physician recommended by Major Clark, to pass his opinion on my brother's disorder, which he did in a favorable light, giving great assurances that it was not so fixed but that a cure might be effectually made. In the cool of the evening we rode out, accompanied by Mr. Carter, to seek

lodgings in the country, as the Doctor advised, and were perfectly enraptured with the beautiful prospects which every side presented to our view,—the fields of cane, corn, fruit-trees, etc., in a delightful green. We returned without accomplishing our intentions.

7th. Dined with Major Clark, and by him was introduced to the Surveyor General and the Judges, who likewise dined there. In the evening they complaisantly accompanied us in another excursion into the country to choose lodgings. We pitched on the house of Captain Croftan, commander of James's Fort. He was desired to come to town next day to propose his terms. We returned by the way of Needham's Fort.

8th. Came Captain Croftan with his proposals, which, though extravagantly dear, my brother was obliged to accept. Fifteen pounds a month were his terms, exclusive of liquor and washing, which we find. In the evening we removed some of our things up, and went ourselves. It is very pleasantly situated near the sea, and about a mile from town. The prospect is extensive by land and pleasant by sea, as we command a view of Carlyle Bay and the shipping.

9th. Received a card from Major Clark, inviting us to dine with him at Judge Maynard's to-morrow. He had a right to ask, being a member of a club called the "Beef-steak and Tripe," instituted by himself.

10th. We were genteely received by Judge Maynard and his lady, and agreeably entertained by the company. They have a meeting every Saturday, this being Judge Maynard's day. After dinner there was the greatest collection of fruits set on the table, that I have yet seen,—the granadilla, sapadilla, pomegranate, sweet orange, water-melon, forbidden fruit, apples, guavas, etc., etc. We received invitations from every gentleman there. Mr. War-

ren desired Major Clark to show us the way to his house. Mr. Hacket insisted on our coming Saturday next to his, it being his day to treat with beef-steak and tripe. But above all the invitation of Mr. Maynard was most kind and friendly. He desired and even insisted, as well as his lady, on our coming to spend some weeks with him, and promised nothing should be wanting to render our stay agreeable. My brother promised he would accept the invitation as soon as he should be a little disengaged from the doctors.

15th. Was treated with a ticket to see the play of George Barnwell acted. The character of Barnwell and several others were said to be well performed. There was music adapted and regularly conducted.

17th. Was strongly attacked with the small-pox. Sent for Dr. Lanahan, whose attendance was very constant till my recovery and going out, which were not till Thursday, the 12th of December.

December 12th. Went to town and called on Major Clark's family, who had kindly visited me in my illness, and contributed me all they could in sending me the necessaries which the disorder required. On Monday last began the grand session, and this day was brought on the trial of Colonel C., a man of opulent fortune and infamous character. He was brought in guiltless and saved by a single evidence, who was generally reckoned to have been suborned.

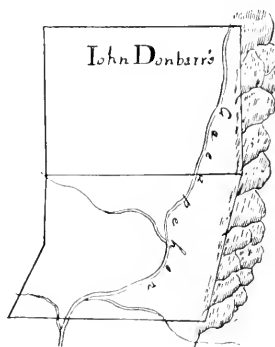
22d. Took leave of my brother, Major Clark, and others, and embarked on board the *Industry* for Virginia. Weighed anchor and got out of Carlyle Bay about twelve o'clock.

The Governor of Barbadoes seems to keep a proper state, lives very retired and at little expense, and is a gen-

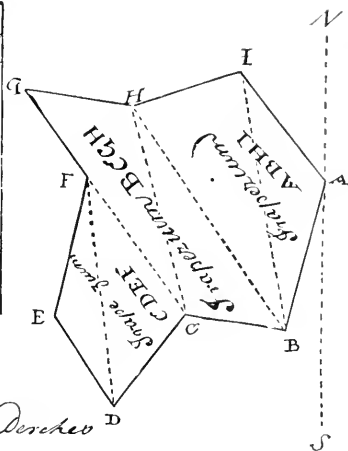
tleman of good sense. As he avoids the errors of his predecessor, he gives no handle for complaints; but at the same time, by declining much familiarity, he is not overzealously beloved. . . .

Hospitality and a genteel behavior are shown to every gentleman stranger by the gentleman inhabitants. Taverns they have none, except in the towns; so that travellers are obliged to go to private houses. The people are said to live to a great age where they are not intemperate. They are, however, very unhappy in regard to their officers' fees, which are not paid by any law. They complain particularly of the provost-marshal, or sheriff-general, of the island, patented at home and rented at eight hundred pounds a year. Every other officer is exorbitant in his demands. There are few who may be called middling people. They are very rich or very poor; for by a law of the island every gentleman is obliged to keep a white person for every ten acres, capable of acting in the militia, and consequently the persons so kept cannot but be very poor. They are well disciplined and appointed to their several stations; so that in any alarm every man may be at his post in less than two hours. They have large entrenchments cast up wherever it is possible to land, and, as nature has greatly assisted, the island may not improperly be said to be one entire fortification.

It is not very often that in the eminently practical career of Washington, we touch the literary history of his time. There is, therefore, especial interest in the little note, in which he describes himself as witnessing the "moral melodrama" of *George Barnwell*, not yet forgotten. This play, which has



	Courses		Ch: Lks
A	S 11 ^o 00	W	11 ^u 25
B	N 01 ^u 00	W	7 ^u 33
C	S 36 ^u 30	W	0 ^u 32
D	N 35 ^u 00	W	7 ^u 46
E	N 12 ^u 30	E	10 ^u 21
F	N 36 ^u 30	W	0 ^u 01
G	S 02 ^u 30	E	0 ^u 01
H	N 71 ^u 00	E	0 ^u 20



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held the stage for more than a century, was written by George Lillo, an English dramatic author, who died in 1739, and who, with all his other plays, is forgotten excepting by the biographical dictionaries. *Arden of Feversham* was another of his plays. "He had the spirit of an old Roman" said Fielding, "with the innocence of a primitive Christian." George Washington, while in Barbadoes, passed through another experience, more important to himself and to his country, than was any little enlargement of his habits or views which he may have gained from the grandeurs of the society of the island. While he was attending upon his invalid brother, he took the small-pox, having never been inoculated. He passed through it safely and was thus exempt from danger from it, in one and another critical period afterward, when it ravaged the armies which were under his command.

George returned alone to Virginia in order to take his brother's wife to meet her husband in Bermuda. But Lawrence Washington's health was giving way too fast. He followed George to Virginia, and arrived before his wife had sailed, and died shortly after. He was but thirty-four years of age, and left but one child, an infant daughter, to whom his large fortune descended. He made his brother George one of his executors, although he was not of age. The young man's acquaintance with the property made him among the most prominent of

those upon whom the charge of it devolved. On the death of the little girl, a few years after, he inherited, under his brother's will, the estate at Mt. Vernon.

We will conclude this chapter, by some specimens of the Rules for Conduct, found in one of the notebooks, which have been a puzzle to all his biographers. There are phrases in them, which seem to belong certainly to a boy's vocabulary. On the other hand, they sometimes relate to experiences which this boy could hardly have had. Mr. Everett thought that they must have been copied from some printed code of the time, of which there are many in contemporary books. But if this is the case, the original from which this has been taken has not been found by careful search, nor has any one of the rules been identified.

It is quite possible that he may have accustomed himself, from an early period, to writing out these rules when he heard them laid down by experienced men, such, for instance, as Lord Fairfax. However this may be, there are very few of them which could not be applied, even after the lapse of a century, by intelligent young men or young women of to-day.

1. Every action in company ought to be with some sign of respect to those present.
2. In the presence of others sing not to yourself with a humming noise, nor drum with your fingers or feet.
3. Sleep not when others speak, sit not when others

stand, speak not when you should hold your peace, walk not when others stop.

4. Turn not your back to others, especially in speaking; jog not the table or desk on which another reads or writes; lean not on any one.

5. Be no flatterer; neither play with any one, that delights not to be played with.

6. Read no letters, books, or papers in company; but when there is a necessity for doing it, you must ask leave. Come not near the books or writings of any one so as to read them, unless desired, nor give your opinion of them unasked; also, look not nigh when another is writing a letter.

7. Let your countenance be pleasant, but in serious matters somewhat grave.

8. Show not yourself glad at the misfortune of another, though he were your enemy.

9. When you meet with one of greater quality than yourself, stop and retire, especially if it be at a door or any straight place, to give way for him to pass.

10. They that are in dignity, or in office, have in all places precedence; but whilst they are young they ought to respect those that are their equals in birth, or other qualities, though they have no public charge.

11. It is good manners to prefer them to whom we speak before ourselves, especially if they be above us, with whom in no sort we ought to begin.

12. Let your discourse with men of business be short and comprehensive.

13. In visiting the sick, do not presently play the physician, if you be not knowing therein.

14. In writing or speaking, give to every person his due title, according to his degree and the custom of the place.

15. Strive not with your superiors in argument, but always submit your judgment to others with modesty.

16. Undertake not to teach your equal in the art himself professes ; it savours of arrogancy.

17. When a man does all he can, though it succeeds not well, blame not him that did it.

18. Being to advise or reprehend any one, consider whether it ought to be in public or in private, presently or at some other time, in what terms to do it ; and in reproving show no signs of choler, but do it with sweetness and mildness.

19. Take all admonitions thankfully, in what time or place soever given ; but afterwards, not being culpable, take a time or place convenient to let him know it that gave them.

20. Mock not, nor jest at any thing of importance ; break no jests that are sharp-biting, and if you deliver any thing witty and pleasant, abstain from laughing thereat yourself.

21. Wherein you reprove another be unblamable yourself ; for example is more prevalent than precepts.

22. Use no reproachful language against any one, neither curse nor revile.

23. Be not hasty to believe flying reports to the disparagement of any.

24. In your apparel, be modest, and endeavor to accommodate nature, rather than to procure admiration ; keep to the fashion of your equals, such as are civil and orderly with respect to times and places.

25. Play not the peacock, looking everywhere about you to see if you be well decked, if your shoes fit well, if your stockings sit neatly, and clothes handsomely.

26. Associate yourself with men of good quality, if you

esteem your own reputation, for it is better to be alone, than in bad company.

27. Let your conversation be without malice or envy, for it is a sign of a tractable and commendable nature ; and in all causes of passion, admit reason to govern.

28. Be not immodest in urging your friend to discover a secret.

29. Utter not base and frivolous things amongst grave and learned men ; nor very difficult questions or subjects among the ignorant ; nor things hard to be believed.

30. Speak not of doleful things in time of mirth, nor at the table ; speak not of melancholy things, as death, and wounds, and if others mention them, change, if you can, the discourse. Tell not your dreams, but to your intimate friend.

31. Break not a jest where none takes pleasure in mirth ; laugh not aloud, nor at all without occasion. Deride no man's misfortune, though there seems to be some cause.

32. Speak not injurious words neither in jest nor earnest ; scoff at none, although they give occasion.

33. Be not forward, but friendly and courteous ; the first to salute, hear and answer ; and be not pensive when it is a time to converse.

34. Detract not from others, neither be excessive in commending.

35. Go not thither, where you know not whether you shall be welcome or not. Give not advice without being asked, and when desired, do it briefly.

36. If two contend together take not the part of either unconstrained, and be not obstinate in your own opinion ; in things indifferent, be of the major side.

37. Reprehend not the imperfections of others, for that belongs to parents, masters, and superiors.

38. Gaze not on the marks or blemishes of others, and ask not how they came. What you may speak in secret to your friend, deliver not before others.

39. Speak not in an unknown tongue in company, but in your own language, and that as those of quality do, and not as the vulgar; sublime matters treat seriously.

40. Think before you speak, pronounce not imperfectly, nor bring out your words too hastily, but orderly and distinctly.

41. When another speaks, be attentive yourself, and disturb not the audience. If any hesitate in his words, help him not, nor prompt him without being desired; interrupt him not, nor answer him, till his speech be ended.

42. Treat with men at fit times about business, and whisper not in the company of others.

43. Make no comparisons, and if any of the company be commended for any brave act of virtue, commend not another for the same.

44. Be not apt to relate news, if you know not the truth thereof. In discoursing of things you have heard, name not your author always. A secret discover not.

45. Be not curious to know the affairs of others, neither approach to those who speak in private.

46. Undertake not what you cannot perform, but be careful to keep your promise.

47. When you deliver a matter, do it without passion, and with discretion, however mean the person be you do it to.

48. When your superiors talk to anybody, hearken not, neither speak, nor laugh.

49. In disputes be not so desirous to overcome, as not to give liberty to each one to deliver his opinion, and submit to the judgment of the major part, especially if they are judges of the dispute.

50. Be not tedious in discourse ; make not many digressions, nor repeat often the same manner of discourse.

51. Speak not evil of the absent ; for it is unjust.

52. Make no show of taking great delight in your victuals ; feed not with greediness ; cut your bread with a knife ; lean not on the table ; neither find fault with what you eat.

53. Be not angry at table, whatever happens, and if you have reason to be so, show it not ; put on a cheerful countenance, especially if there be strangers, for good humor makes one dish of meat a feast.

54. Set not yourself at the upper end of the table ; but if it be your due or that the master of the house will have it so, contend not, lest you should trouble the company.

55. When you speak of God, or his attributes, let it be seriously in reverence. Honor and obey your natural parents, although they be poor.

56. Let your recreations be manful, not sinful.

57. Labor to keep alive in your breast that little spark of celestial fire, called conscience.





CHAPTER III.

FIRST CAMPAIGN.

Emigration to the West—The Ohio Company—Appointment from Gov. Dinwiddie—A Winter Journey to Visit the French Commander—Venango and Fort Le Boeuf—Washington's Diary—The French Answer—A New Commission—War in Fact—The First Bullets—A Retreat—Fort Necessity—Carlyle's Account; Smollett's; the "Half-King's" Criticism—Washington's Welcome and Reception in Virginia.

THE reputation of Washington as a military commander, was made before he was twenty-six years old. It is an interesting illustration of the history of this country, that, from the very beginning, its fortunes should so often have been intrusted to the foresight, promptness, courage, decision, and judgment of young men. The immediate undertaking on which Washington was engaged in his early life, which endeared him so closely to the people of Virginia, and which eventually made him known to the people throughout the colonies, was an enterprise of colonization. It was true then as it is true to this hour, that the business of the young American is to found new States. Lawrence Washington, with wisdom and foresight which would have made him a distinguished man, had he lived, had entered on an enterprise for the coloni-

zation of the beautiful region west of the Alleghany Mountains. He had engaged with a number of Virginian gentlemen of wealth and influence, in a company for the settling of this western territory. They had obtained a charter from each one of the provincial governments that had any connection with, or claims upon those regions. They had secured a grant from the Crown which gave them control of a very large tract, including the region which we now call West Virginia, and a considerable part of our State of Ohio.

The new company had engaged by its charter to place, within the term of four years, one hundred and fifty families of emigrants on this territory, which we now know to be so rich and beautiful.

The government at home had granted these privileges without the slightest hesitation. In point of fact, however, the English title to these lands was based on little more than the original discovery of the American coast. But the English charters of almost all the colonies on the sea-board, gave them boundary lines running west as far as the Pacific Ocean, at whatever distance that might prove to be. In later years, however, since the French had made the great discovery of the mouth and course of the Mississippi River, their own governors, both in Louisiana and in Canada, had claimed the valley of that river as their own. They asserted, not for the first time, perhaps, a claim, which has since been



WASHINGTON AT WINCHESTER.

much insisted upon in such discussions, that the discoverers of the river are entitled to the largest benefits of the lands which are watered by the streams that flow into it. It is clear enough, without much study of the map, that if the English colonies were to run east and west, from the Atlantic to the Pacific, they must interfere in the course of a very few hundred miles with the claims which included every inch of land watered by the streams which flowed into the Mississippi.

As to the real right which George the Second of England, or Louis the Fifteenth of France, had to the territory, it was simply the right of the stronger. Each of these monarchs, and each of their ministers, when attention was called to the subject, made some slight effort to enforce the one claim or the other. Their officers, or their people on the frontiers nearest to this territory, did what they could to cultivate friendly relations with the native tribes. But kings and generals and treasurers in Europe cared but little for lands to which there were no roads and on which there were no people.

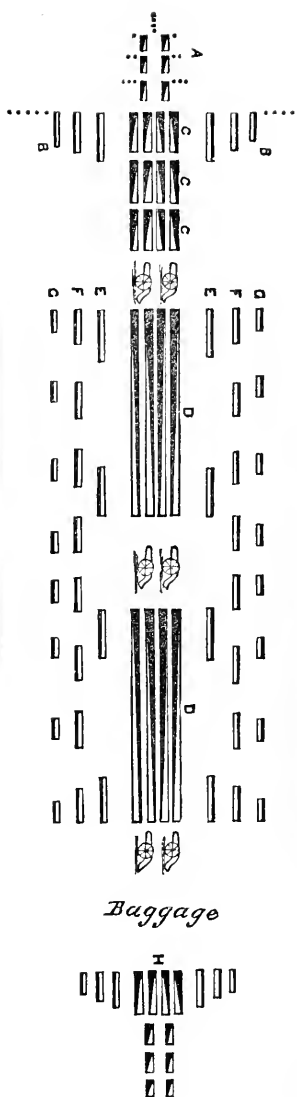
It was true then, as it is true now, that land has as little value as ocean unless there are men upon it. The world has not well learned this lesson yet, but it had some power in the counsels of statesmen, even then.

The English Crown gave such authority as it could to the Virginian company, of which we have

A. Van Guards consisting of
 1st .
 2d .
 3d .
 4th .
 B. Flank Guards, each consisting of .
 C. 1st, 2d, and 3d Division, each .
 D. 1st and 2d Brigades, each .
 E. Eight Captain's Guards, each .
 F. Sixteen Subaltern's Guards, each .
 G. Sixteen Sergeant's Guards, each .
 H. Rear and Baggage Guard . . .

Captains.	Subalt'ns.	Serg'ts.	Corp'ls.	Privates.
1	3	4	5	90
1	1	1	1	180
1	1	1	1	730
1	1	1	1	1,900
1	1	1	1	200
1	1	1	1	240
1	1	1	1	160
1	1	1	1	500
1	1	1	1	4,000
Captains.	Subalt'ns.	Serg'ts.	Corp'ls.	Privates.
1	3	4	5	90
1	1	1	1	180
1	1	1	1	730
1	1	1	1	1,900
1	1	1	1	200
1	1	1	1	240
1	1	1	1	160
1	1	1	1	500
1	1	1	1	4,000

PLAN
 OF
 A LINE OF MARCH
 for the Army
 under
 GENERAL FORBES,
 Oct., 1758.
 Drawn by G. Washington.



spoken, to colonize the garden to which it pretended to give a claim. As the reader has seen, the grant was accompanied by the condition that, within a time not unreasonable, the company should place one hundred and fifty families upon the land. To prepare to do this was, therefore, the first object. And the first manly enterprise of George Washington, one which called him away for the first time from field sports, and verses to ladies, and the duties of a boy surveyor, was an expedition beyond the Alleghanies for the survey of a part of this region.¹

It was in the spring of 1751 that the certainty of French aggressions on the upper waters of the Ohio roused the government of Virginia to corresponding effort. Lawrence Washington, even then, sought an appointment in the military line for his brother George, though he was but nineteen years of age. But his own health was really failing. George Washington, in fact, spent the greater part of the two next years in the voyage to and from the Barbadoes, and in other cares for his brother's health and for the administration of his estate. As it proved, there was no actual appeal to arms either in 1751 or 1752. But in the Autumn of 1753, Govern-

¹ Carlyle's reference in "Frederick the Great" is in these words: "Ohio Company was laudably eager in this matter; land-surveyor in it (nay at length 'Colonel of a regiment of 150 men raised by the Ohio Company') was Mr. George Washington, whose family had much promoted the enterprise, and was indeed a steady-going, considerate, close-mouthed young gentleman, who came to great distinction in the end."

or Dinwiddie, determined to send a special commission into the Ohio valley, where the English traders had been taken prisoners by the French, and the French flag waved over at least one trading post which the English claimed as their own. Dinwiddie selected George Washington for the commission which he proposed. He left Williamsburg, the capital of Virginia, on the 30th of October.

At Winchester, then on the frontier, he procured his horses, tents, and other equipments for camp life. With an Indian and French interpreter, and five other frontiersmen, he left Will's Creek, the place which we now call Cumberland, on the 15th of November, for a winter journey through a wild country. The first part of that journey went through the passes of the Alleghany Mountains, where the snow had already begun to fall. The rivers rose so high that the horses had to swim them. The party descended the Monongahela and, at its junction, Washington waited for the canoe which bore their baggage. With a soldier's eye he observed at once the fitness for fortification of the point where this river unites with the Alleghany. He thus anticipated the decision of the French engineers, who, the year after, established the post there against which Braddock was sent in 1754. Washington continued on his journey, profiting by the assistance and advice of the more mature men who were with him, but showing all along

a degree of good sense in his dealings with the Indians and afterwards his dealings with the French, which, at that early age, gave token of the man that he was to be.

The chief sachem of the Delawares was then named Shingis. His capital, if it may so be called, was at a place which the English called Logstown, not far from the junction of the river, where Pittsburgh now stands. Shingis gave Washington information as to the two forts which the French had established. One was on Lake Erie and the other fourteen miles inland above it, connected by a wagon road.

At Washington's request he called a council of chiefs, and Washington explained to them the commission which he had received from the governor of Virginia. In reply they assured him that they considered the English and themselves as brothers, and that they meant to send back to the French the "speech belts" which the French had sent to them. They said they were willing to furnish Washington with an escort, but asked for three days to prepare for the journey. This escort eventually consisted of four men only, an Indian hunter, Shingis, another sachem named Jeskake, and a fourth known as "White Thunder." With this party and his own, Washington arrived on the fourth of December at Venango,¹ by a route about seventy miles

¹ At the junction of French Creek and Alleghany Run.

long. The French colors were flying at a house from which an Indian trader had been driven. Washington found their captain, Joncaire, who was the chief among the French officers who were attempting to win the favor of the Indians. Unfortunately for the Virginian commission, the French gentlemen had supplies of whiskey and other liquor, which, in those days, if not in these, was most essential for Indian negotiation. The stay at Venango resulted, therefore, in very little advantage to the English claim; for although when the four Indians were sober they affected the strictest loyalty to George the Second, when they were drunk, as they were much of the time, they were willing to make any promises to the French commander. On the 7th of December, Washington succeeded in extricating his Indian friends from the attractions of the French, and went on to meet a higher officer, the Chevalier de St. Pierre, whom he found at a post of some military pretensions, fourteen miles south of Lake Erie, on the west fork of French Creek.

Washington presented his credentials from Dinwiddie, and spent two days in discussions with the chevalier and his officers. While these two days went on, the Frenchmen were doing their best to induce the Indian sachems to renounce their friendship with the English. On the other hand, Washington urged them to deliver up their belts of wampum, as they had promised him, to the French. The

French, however, declined to receive them ; and it may be feared that the Indian sachems were quite willing to stand well with both sides. Finally, on the 14th of December, the chevalier gave to Washington his sealed reply to Governor Dinwiddie's letter. But, although he was courtly in his manner, Washington was satisfied that he was pushing his intrigues with Shingis and the others to the utmost. It was with difficulty that he induced them to leave the fort. They were obliged to push their canoes up the river, which was full of floating ice, and it was not until the 22d that they again reached Venango. Here Washington parted from the Indians, but decided to keep his saddle-horse to aid him in transporting the baggage, and to travel himself on foot.

The journey home was to the last degree perilous, for the week between Christmas and the New Year. But on the second of January, the little party arrived at the residence of Mr. Gist, one of their number, on the Monongahela River, and here Washington was able to purchase a horse with which to continue his homeward route. He met on this journey horses laden with materials and stores for the fort proposed at the fork of the Ohio, and families going out to settle there. He reached Williamsburg on the 16th of January, after a journey, full of adventure, which had lasted for nearly three months, and delivered to Governor Dinwiddie the letter of the French commander.

The spirit which he had shown in this difficult enterprise showed to the governor that he had rightly chosen his man, and brought him at once into note with the people of the colony. "It was an expedition," says Mr. Irving, "which may be considered as the foundation of his fortunes. From that moment he was the rising boy of Virginia."

The material for the study of this interesting journey is in a diary which Washington himself kept and which is still preserved. Interesting as it is, it is impossible, in these pages, to copy the whole of it. But no better illustration of this man can be given, at the period when he was just entering on manhood, than this bit of simple narrative. We will therefore close this chapter by an extract from the notes of the diary. The events which followed became so important that, as it happened, the diary was not long after printed in England. We should gladly copy it all as an admirable illustration both of the young man's character, and his power of expressing himself at an early age. But a short extract is all which our limits permit. That which we copy describes his interview with the French commissary. The place of this interview was at Fort Le Bœuf on the French Creek, or Venango River, about fourteen miles south of Lake Erie :

"December 12th, I prepared early to wait upon the commander and was received and conducted by him to the head officer in command. I acquainted him with my busi-

ness, and offered my commission and letter, both of which he desired me to keep, until the arrival of Monsieur Reparti, captain at the next fort, who was sent for and expected any hour.

“This commander is a knight of the military order of St. Louis, and named Legardeur de St. Pierre. He is an elderly gentleman and has much the air of a soldier. He was sent over to take the command immediately upon the death of the late general, and arrived here about seven days before me.

“At two o'clock, the gentleman who was sent for arrived, when I offered the letter, etc., again, which they received, and adjourned into a private apartment for the captain to translate, who understood a little English. After he had done it, the commander desired I would walk in and bring my interpreter to peruse and correct it, which I did.

“13th. The chief officers retired to hold a council of war,—which gave me an opportunity of taking the dimensions of the fort, which I did.

“It is situated on the south or west pit of French Creek, near the water, and is almost surrounded by the creek, and a small branch of it, which form a kind of island. Four houses compose the sides. The bastions are made of piles driven into the ground, standing more than twelve feet above it, and sharp at the top, with port-holes cut for cannon, and loop-holes for the small arms to fire through.”

After this description of the fort, and an estimate of the garrison, the diary goes on :

“14th. As the snow increased very fast, and our horses daily became weaker I sent them off unloaded, under the

care of Barnaby Currie and two others, to make all convenient despatch to Venango, and there to wait our arrival, if there was a prospect of the river's freezing; if not, then to continue down to Shannopin's Town, at the fork of the Ohio, and there to wait until we came to cross the Alleghany, intending myself to go down by water, as I had the offer of a canoe or two.

"As I found many plots concerted to retard the Indians' business, and prevent their returning with me, I endeavored all that lay in my power to frustrate their schemes, and hurried them on to execute their intended designs. They accordingly pressed for admittance this evening, which at length was granted to them privately, to the commander and one or two other officers. The Half King told me that he offered the wampum to the commander, who evaded taking it and made many fair promises of love and friendship; said he wanted to live in peace and trade amicably with them, as a proof of which he would send some goods immediately down to the Logstown for them. But I rather think the design of that is to bring away all our straggling traders they meet with, as I privately understood they intended to carry an officer with them. And what rather confirms this opinion, I was inquiring of the commander by what authority he had made prisoners of several of our English subjects. He told me that the country belonged to them; that no Englishman had a right to trade upon these waters; and that he had orders to make every person prisoner who attempted it on the Ohio, or the waters of it.

* * * * *

"This evening I received an answer to his Honor the Governor's letter from the Commandant."

The letter thus received, was carried after weeks of perilous adventure to Gov. Dinwiddie. It was diplomatic but conceded nothing. The Virginian government was satisfied that the French intended to send a military force into the valley of the Ohio in the next year. They printed Washington's journal and sent to England the information which they had received by him. This had no little effect in quickening the movements which led up to what we call "The Seven Years' War." Governor Dinwiddie sent circular letters to the governors of the other American provinces, calling their attention to the certainty that war would be upon them in the next year. He called together his own colonial assembly. This assembly was almost always in controversy with any governor appointed by the Crown; but, after a good deal of wrangling, they consented to provide a sufficient revenue for the enlistment of three hundred and fifty troops. These were divided into six companies. The command of the whole was offered to Washington. It must be remembered that he was not yet twenty-two years old. He had the prudence to decline the charge, and was made second in command under Colonel Joshua Frye, an English gentleman of some military experience and education. Washington was dissatisfied with the recruits, who were gathered under the call made for troops, but, such as they were, their officers began the rather hopeless task of training them. On the

second of April, 1754, with two companies he left Alexandria, to join the party building the new fort at the junction of the two rivers which formed the Ohio. It must be observed that this was two years before a formal declaration of war. Before he arrived at Will's Creek, they were startled by a rumor that Captain Trent, who was in advance, had been captured, with all his men, by the French. This rumor proved to be false. But Trent had not succeeded in fortifying the post, and before many days the whole party he had left at work there came in to Will's Creek, having retired before the body of French, which they thought consisted of a thousand men. Captain Contrecoeur had suddenly appeared with this force, in a fleet of six boats and three hundred canoes, as they estimated them, and had summoned the ensign in command to surrender. All the terms the young man could obtain was permission to depart with his men and their tools. The French began the fort, which they named Duquesne, at the point which the English abandoned to them.

This was war, indeed. It was war pronounced on the spot by the officers in charge before any proclamation had been made by the powers of Europe. Washington had expected it. He was simply disgusted to learn that the French had been too quick for his sluggish subordinate, and that the important post which he had himself determined

upon, at the junction of the two rivers, had fallen into their hands.

He found himself compelled, with an army of three hundred and fifty men just raised, to attack the French forces, who were represented to him as nearly three times his superiors. Between him and them were the Alleghany Mountains. Behind him was the administration, necessarily poor, of a colony, unacquainted with war, which was just learning the alphabet of military procedure. Washington's own officers were dissatisfied with the provision made for them, and the rank and file of his six companies was of the poorest material. None the less, did he press forward. He succeeded in opening a communication with the "Half-King," who had accompanied him, the winter before, and having taken a position at Great Meadows, a place which for some years was a central point in the frontier warfare, he began to build a fort there. A few days after he surprised a party of French and took twenty-one prisoners. Of his own party, one was killed and three wounded. His account of this skirmish, unfortunately for his reputation, was printed in England. For it was in this letter that he made the remark which was often afterwards quoted, that "the whistling of bullets was like music." George the Second said, that if he had heard more, he would not have thought so. Walpole printed that story, and Washington was asked, in after life, if he ever had used the

phrase. "If I did so," he said, "it must have been when I was very young."

Among the killed in this first skirmish was the commander of the French, Jumonville.

It is very evident from Washington's letters that he was quickened to the utmost by the sense of responsibility and that of success. Though his resources were so wretchedly poor, he had done the best with them; and though the French were in force so much stronger, he had got the better of them at the outset. It is indeed very seldom, in the history of that long one hundred years, in which French and English frontiersmen were trying to outwit each other on our borders, that the Englishman, on the first alarm, was too quick for the Frenchman. In the history of the world, indeed, Keltic quickness has usually been too much for Teutonic dulness in the outset of affairs, and the forests of America did not often furnish an exception to the general rule. Washington had good reason then for congratulation, and his success promised him the speedy co-operation of considerable Indian allies. If, indeed, he could not rely upon these, he had little else to rely upon. The quarrels between the governor and the legislature of Virginia, perhaps it would be fair to say, the parsimony of the House of Burgesses of Virginia, would give him no reinforcement besides the wretched two hundred and fifty at the head of whom he started. His commander-in-

chief, Frye, died at Will's Creek just at this critical period, and Washington was notified that a certain Col. Innes, who was at Winchester with a North Carolina contingent, was to take the command. But Innes never joined, nor his contingent, and in fact the campaign was Washington's from the beginning to the end. On the 10th of June, nine French deserters came in, and on the same day, a company from South Carolina, under a Captain Mackay. Mackay claimed to be independent of his command, and Washington left him with his force as the garrison of Fort Necessity. But he did not himself advance very far, as he learned that a large force was advancing against him. This proved indeed to consist of five hundred French and several hundred Indians. He called Mackay up to join him, and so soon as he could consult with him and his scouts, ordered a retreat. Nor was this decision arrived at any too soon. The French force under De Villiers, a brother-in-law of Jumonville, came as far as Gists, Washington's farthest post. He would himself have retreated, it is said, but that a deserter, probably an Indian, told him that the English force was discouraged and reduced from want of provisions. This deserter told him that they were at Fort Necessity, which was only thirteen miles away. De Villiers determined at least to see for himself what enemy he had in his front, and pushed on.

Meanwhile, Washington and his discouraged

force had arrived at the fort again. The men were undoubtedly demoralized by defeat. Though he and his Virginians had worked upon the defences diligently, these were not yet completed. Mackay's Carolinians would do no work at all. The half-king deserted with the Indian allies. Washington sent back to Will's Creek for supplies, and to hasten the march of two companies of New York troops who were on their way to join him. For two days he continued to work upon his defences, but on the third, the French surrounded him, drove his men under cover of their intrenchments, and summoned him to surrender. They had little cover from the enemy and none from the skies. The rain fell in torrents, the men were hungry, discouraged, and exhausted. De Villiers offered them permission to depart with the honors of war, with their arms and all their munitions except their artillery. These terms they accepted: indeed, they could do nothing else. De Villiers, on his part, agreed that they should not be molested on their retreat, a promise which he did not, perhaps could not, fulfil. Washington, with his worn-out men, marched back seventy miles, and reported his discomfiture to Governor Dinwiddie. This was the discouraging close of his first independent command. But it seems to have been generally acknowledged that he had done his best. In our own time, Carlyle's account in "Frederick" is amusing.

“Washington entrenches himself 1st July at what he calls ‘Fort Necessity,’ some way down, and the second day after, is attacked in vigorous military manner. Defends himself what he can through nine hours of heavy rain; has lost thirty, the French only three, and is obliged to capitulate. ‘Free withdrawal’ the terms given. This is the last I heard of the Ohio Company; not the last of Washington, by any means.”

But to the credit of the Virginians, it should be said that he did not forfeit by defeat the confidence which they had placed in him. The House of Burgesses gave their thanks to him and to his officers, and ordered that a considerable sum of money should be distributed among the privates as a reward. The view taken of the matter in Europe is thus summed up by Smollett :

“While he remained in this situation, De Viller, a French commander, at the head of 900 men, being on his march to dislodge Washington, detached one Jumonville, an inferior officer, with a small party, and a formal summons to Colonel Washington, requiring him to quit the fort, which he pretended was built on ground belonging to the French or to their allies. So little regard was paid to this intimation that the English fell upon this party and, as the French affirm, without the least provocation, either slew or took the whole detachment. De Viller, incensed at these unprovoked hostilities, marched up to the attack which Washington for some time sustained under manifold disadvantages. At length, however, he surrendered the fort upon capitulation, for the performance of which he left two officers as hostages in the hands of the French,

and in his retreat was terribly harassed by the Indians, who plundered his baggage and massacred his people. This event was no sooner known in England than the British ambassador at Paris received directions to complain of it to the French ministry as an open violation of the peace ; but this representation had no effect."

The criticism which the half-king passed upon this campaign, after he had deserted his allies, is worth remembering. The French, he said, were cowards, and the English fools. He thought Washington a good man without experience, who would not take advice of the Indians, but compelled them to fight according to his own notions. This was the justification which he gave for his desertion. The campaign was really over, and all the English troops were safely back on the east of the Alleghanies, before the first of August. Three months were left of the season most favorable for military operations. One of the hostages, whom the French had taken with them, sent back, from their new fort, word that a sudden attack, like theirs on Fort Necessity, would certainly be successful. Dinwiddie had some dreams of trying again where he had failed. But, really, the Alleghany ridge protected them against him, as well as it protected his frontier against them. Much letter-writing and planning, but no action, occupied the summer and the autumn.

Washington received a letter, courteous and even flattering, from Governor Sharpe, of Maryland, who

had been placed by the English government at the head of all these operations. But Washington knew too well by this time what was the innate source of weakness in such enterprises. A man was to be held to the responsibility of command who had no commission which entitled him to command others. A company from South Carolina was an independent army. An officer with the king's commission would not obey one commissioned by Virginia. It seems as if some skilful enchanter had been showing him, on the petty scale of his first adventures, phantoms which should represent the jealousies of after years—when he was to be the commander-in-chief of the contingents of thirteen independent States.





CHAPTER IV.

THE BRADDOCK CAMPAIGN.

The French War—Washington an Aide to Braddock—Correspondence with Orme—His Mother's Anxiety—Correspondence with Mrs. Fairfax—Mee's Benjamin Franklin—The Advance toward Fort Duquesne—The Battle and Retreat—Washington's Letters—The English View of the Event—Mr. Davis's Prophecy—Legend of the Indian Chief.

IN 1755 the English government had awakened at last to the condition of things in all parts of the country, and was ready for war with France. On the side of England and on the side of France a like secrecy was observed, each government pretending that it was maintaining peace with the other. But while the ambassador of England in Paris was complaining of violations of peace, the government in London was preparing for military operations in America.

It is not the part of this book to go into the general history of America in that time. We are concerned with that history only in so far as it has to do with the work of George Washington. Though a young man, only twenty-three years of age, he had so closely connected himself with affairs upon

the frontier that the part he took was important. He had already, as has been seen, attracted the attention of the authorities at home. His letters and journals had been printed in London; and though we have only the epigrammatic remark of George the Second regarding him, and Walpole's comment, made at the same time, these are enough to show that some importance was attached to him among persons in high position. The Duke of Cumberland, whose military reputation was perhaps at its height at this period, had been charged with the organization of the campaign. It was by his selection that Major-General Edward Braddock was entrusted with the execution of that part of it which was to be wrought out on the frontier of Virginia. Little did the Duke of Cumberland think, or little did Braddock think, that his name was to be rescued from utter oblivion, before a century was over, by the contingencies which united him with the Virginia colonel who had hardly passed into manhood. Smollett, writing in 1758, says of Braddock, that he

“was undoubtedly a man of courage, and expert in all the punctilios of a review, having been brought up in the English Guards. But he was naturally very haughty, positive, and difficult of access, qualities ill suited to the temper of the people amongst whom he was to command. His extreme severity in matters of discipline had rendered him unpopular among the soldiers; and the strict military education in which he had been trained from his youth, and which he prided himself on scrupulously following,

made him hold the American militia in great contempt, because they could not go through their exercise with the same dexterity and regularity as a regiment of Guards in Hyde Park, little knowing or indeed being able to form any idea of the difference between the European manner of fighting and an American expedition through woods, deserts, and morasses."

Braddock arrived on the 20th of February at Hampton, Virginia, and went at once to Williamsburg to consult with Governor Dinwiddie. Shortly afterwards he received from England two fine regiments of about 500 men each, which were to be increased to 700 men by Virginia recruits. The troops were forwarded to Alexandria and instructions were sent westward for procuring wagons and horses for the train. The Virginians were cheered for the first time, by seeing soldiers, munitions, and artillery really arriving from "home" for their relief. Every one was in good spirits. The levies which were to bring up the numbers of the English regiments were readily enlisted, and Braddock gave them in charge of an "ensign" to make them "look as like soldiers as possible." From the windows of Mount Vernon, Washington could see the ships of war and transports as they passed up to Alexandria. In Alexandria itself, when he rode over, he found all the brilliant apparatus of war. He expressed an eager desire to join the expedition as a volunteer. Braddock was only too glad to avail himself of such

a request. He directed Orme, an officer of his staff, to write to Washington and invite him to join them as a member of his own military family. Braddock could have done nothing more wise, nor could any invitation more agreeable, have reached Washington. He accepted it at once. The two letters, in view of what followed, are interesting. They are in the following words :

ORME TO WASHINGTON.

“ WILLIAMSBURG, 2 March, 1755.

“ SIR :

“ The General, having been informed that you expressed some desire to make the campaign, but that you declined it upon some disagreeableness which you thought might arise from the regulations of command, has ordered me to acquaint you, that he will be very glad of your company in his family, by which all inconveniences of that kind will be obviated.

“ I shall think myself very happy to form an acquaintance with a person so universally esteemed, and shall use every opportunity of assuring you how much I am, Sir, your most obedient servant,

“ ROBERT ORME, Aide-de-camp.”

WASHINGTON TO ORME.

MOUNT VERNON, 15 March, 1755.

“ SIR :

“ I was not favored with your polite letter of the 2d instant until yesterday, acquainting me with the notice his Excellency, General Braddock, is pleased to honor me with, by kindly inviting me to become one of his family in the ensuing campaign. It is true, Sir, I have, ever

since I declined my late command, expressed an inclination to serve in this campaign as a volunteer; and this inclination is not a little increased, since it is likely to be conducted by a gentleman of the General's experience.

"But besides this, and the laudable desire I may have to serve, with my best abilities, my King and country, I must be ingenuous enough to confess that I am not a little biassed by selfish considerations. To explain, Sir, I wish earnestly to attain some knowledge in the military profession, and, believing a more favorable opportunity cannot offer, than to serve under a gentleman of General Braddock's abilities and experience; it does, you may reasonably suppose, not a little contribute to influence my choice. But, Sir, as I have taken the liberty to express my sentiments so freely, I must beg your indulgence while I add, that the only bar which can check me in the pursuit of this object, is the inconveniences that must necessarily result from some proceedings which happened a little before the General's arrival, and which, in some measure, had abated the ardor of my desires, and determined me to lead a life of retirement, into which I was just entering at no small expense, when your favor was presented to me.

"But, as I shall do myself the honor of waiting upon his Excellency, as soon as I hear of his arrival at Alexandria, (I would do it sooner, were I certain where to find him,) I shall decline saying farther on this head till then; begging you will be pleased to assure him, that I shall always retain a grateful sense of the favor with which he is pleased to honor me, and that I should have embraced this opportunity of writing to him, had I not recently addressed a congratulatory letter to him on his safe arrival in this country.

“ I flatter myself you will favor me in making a communication of these sentiments.

“ You do me a singular favor in proposing an acquaintance. It cannot but be attended with the most flattering prospects, on my part, as you may already perceive, by the familiarity and freedom with which I now enter upon this correspondence ; a freedom which, even if it is disagreeable, you must excuse, and lay the blame of it at your own door, for encouraging me to throw off that restraint, which otherwise might have been more obvious in my deportment, on such an occasion.

“ The hope of shortly seeing you will be an excuse for my not adding more, than that I shall endeavor to approve myself worthy of your friendship, and that I beg to be esteemed your most obedient servant,

“ GEORGE WASHINGTON.”

Before he started he secured one lady as a correspondent for the campaign, and there is a reference to another. The following letter is to Mrs. Fairfax, at Belvoir ; probably his brother’s sister-in-law, though the last paragraph makes this doubtful :

“ BULLSKIN, April 30, 1755.

“ DEAR MADAM :

“ In order to engage your correspondence, I think it is incumbent on me to deserve it ; which I will endeavor to do, by embracing the earliest and every opportunity of writing to you.

“ It will be needless to dwell on the pleasure that a correspondence of this kind would afford me ; let it suffice to say, a correspondence with my friends is the greatest satisfaction I expect to enjoy in the course of the cam-

paign ; and that from none shall I derive such satisfaction as from yours, for to you I stand indebted for many obligations.

“ If an old proverb will apply to my case, I shall close with success ; for no man could have made a worse beginning than I have done. Out of four horses which I brought from home, one I have killed outright, and the other three are rendered unfit for use ; so that I have been detained here three days already, and how much longer I may continue to be so, time can only discover.

“ I must beg my compliments to Mrs. Fairfax, Miss Dent, and others that think me worthy of their inquiries. I am, madam, your most obedient servant,

“ GEORGE WASHINGTON.”

It is interesting to observe that Washington's mother felt great distress at his entering the military life again. Thus far, indeed, that life, as she had seen it, had been nothing but failure or misfortune. But Washington was now no longer a boy. He obeyed her, as he should have done, when she determined that he should not enter the English navy. He now made his own determination, a determination which has proved so important for his country and mankind, and explained it to her in a modest letter. He joined Braddock's staff at Will's Creek, having Braddock's permission to remain a little longer than he had at first proposed, to make the difficult arrangements for the management of his estate. It is interesting to note that he provided Braddock with a small map of the back country,

drawn by himself, which, he says, though imperfect, may give "a better knowledge of the parts than you have hitherto had an opportunity to acquire." In fact, he overtook the General at Fredericktown early in May. Even at that early period, he detected a job which had taken the staff and Colonel Dunbar's regiment through Maryland rather than Virginia. "But I believe the eyes of the General are now opened and the imposition detected; and consequently the like will not happen again." A letter from Fort Cumberland shows that he was mindful of home and its attractions, in the midst of the excitements of the camp. After writing to his brother John, whom he calls "My dear Jack," about some good and neat boots which he wanted, because "wearing boots is quite the mode, and mine are in a declining state," he says:

"I have now a good opportunity, and shall not neglect it, of forming an acquaintance which may be serviceable hereafter, if I find it worth while to push my fortune in the military line. I have written to my two female correspondents by this opportunity, one of whose letters I have enclosed to you, and beg your deliverance of it. I shall expect a particular account of all that has happened since my departure."

He was proclaimed, in general orders, as one of General Braddock's aides on the 10th of May.

An interesting subject for an historical picture

would be the meeting of Washington with Benjamin Franklin at Fredericktown, just at this period. We have Franklin's account of it, and another, from the other side, wholly independent. It is probable that even then these two men contracted the respect for each other which they always maintained to the very end of Franklin's life. But we do not remember that either of them in after life alluded, in his correspondence, to this interview. An English letter-writer says, in a letter written from Fredericktown :

“ The day before our march back was appointed, there arrived five Quakers, decently dressed. They were pure, plump men, on brave fat horses, which, by the way, were the first plump creatures I had seen in this country. Then, as I told you before, I believed Virginia was peopled by Pharaoh's lean kine, but these Quakers seem to come from the land of Goshen, they looked like Christian people ; they went directly to his Excellence, and curiosity carried us all to the general quarters. They came with thanks to the general from the people of Pensilvania, for the great labour he had gone through in advancing so far into the wilderness for the protection of his Majesty's dutiful subjects. They acquainted him further, that they had been cutting roads to meet him with a number of waggons loaded with flour, cheese, bacon, and other provision, tho' this was good news I did but half like it, I fear'd it would occasion our stay, and prevent our marching back ; besides it was ominous, your cheese and your bacon being the baits that draw rats to destruction, and it proved but too true ; this bait drew us into a

trap, where happy was he that came off with the loss of his tail only."

There can be little doubt that one of these well-apparelled Quakers was Benjamin Franklin. In Franklin's own narrative, he gives this account of the meeting :

" We found the General at Fredericktown waiting impatiently for the return of those he had sent through the back parts of Maryland and Virginia to collect wagons. I stayed with him several days, dined with him daily, and had full opportunities of removing his prejudices by the information of what the Assembly had, before his arrival, actually done and were still willing to do, to facilitate his operations. When I was about to depart, the returns of wagons to be obtained were brought in, by which it appeared that they amounted only to twenty-five, and not all of those were in serviceable condition. The General and all the officers were surprised, declared the expedition was then at an end, being impossible ; and exclaimed against the ministers for ignorantly sending them into a country destitute of the means of conveying their stores, baggage, etc., not less than one hundred and fifty wagons being necessary.

" I happened to say that it was a pity they had not been landed in Pennsylvania, as in that country almost every farmer had his wagon. The General eagerly laid hold of my words and said : ' Then you, sir, who are a man of interest there, can probably procure them for us, and I beg you will undertake it.' "

Braddock acknowledged this service handsomely

in his report to his government. "I agree," he says, "with Mr. Benjamin Franklin, postmaster in Philadelphia, who has great credit in that province, to hire one hundred and fifty wagons, and the necessary number of horses. This he accomplished with promptitude and fidelity, and it is almost the only instance of address and integrity which I have seen in all these provinces."

On this hint, Franklin issued an advertisement, at once asking for these wagons, and his appeal was successful. In two weeks the 150 wagons, with 259 carrying horses, were on their march to the camp.

"The General," he says again, "was highly satisfied with my conduct, thanked me repeatedly, and requested my further assistance. I undertook this also, and was busily employed in it till we heard of his defeat."

Franklin was one of those who warned him of the danger of Indian ambuscades; but Braddock smiled at his ignorance, and replied: "These savages may indeed be a formidable enemy to your American militia, but upon the King's regular and disciplined troops, sir, it is impossible that they should make any impression."

That Franklin's account of these affairs was not the exaggerated recollection of after years, appears from the English letter from which we have already quoted. The writer says that "the chief of them told the General that he feared greatly for the

safety of the army ; that the woods, the further we went, would be more dangerous, and the French were a subtle and daring enemy, and would not neglect any opportunity of surprising us ; that the further we went the more difficult it would be to supply us with provisions, and the country was not worth keeping, much less conquering."

He also says that Franklin told Braddock that the Indians might be made the guard of the colonies with very small expense to England. "The General not only heard this proposal with pleasure, and communicated it to most of his officers, but doubted if he had the power to execute it. Some of the braggadocio Virginians, who last year ran away so stoutly, began to clamor against the Quakers and the General, and so we marched."

One of the preposterous delays, which belonged to all the English campaigning in America of that time, kept the army on the eastern side of the mountains until June. This delay practically determined the defeat which followed. Fortunately, we now have the story very much in Washington's own words :

" FORT CUMBERLAND, 14th May, 1755.

" DEAR BROTHER :

" I left home the twenty-fourth of last month, and overtook the General at Fredericktown in Maryland ; from whence we proceeded by slow marches to this place, where, I fear, we shall remain some time, for want of horses and carriages to carry our baggage, &c., over the

mountains ; but more especially for want of forage, as it cannot be imagined that so many horses as we require will be subsisted without a great deal.

“We hear nothing particular from the Ohio, except that the French are in hourly expectation of being joined by a large body of Indians ; but I fancy they will find themselves so warmly attacked in other places that it will not be convenient for them to spare many.

“I am treated with freedom, not inconsistent with respect, by the General and his family. I have no doubt, therefore, but that I shall spend my time more agreeably than profitably during the campaign, as I conceive a little experience will be my chief reward.

“Please to give my love to my sister, &c.

“I am, dear sir, your most affectionate brother,

“GEORGE WASHINGTON.”

GEORGE WASHINGTON TO MAJOR CARLYLE.

“FORT CUMBERLAND, 14th of May, 1755.

“*To Major John Carlyle, present at Williamsburg:*

“SIR:—I overtook the General at Fredericktown, in Maryland, and proceeded with him by way of Winchester to this place, which gave him a good opportunity to see the absurdity of the route, and damning it very heartily. Col. Dunbar’s regiment was also obliged to recross at Conogogee, and come down within six miles of Winchester to take the new road to Will’s Creek, which, from the absurdity of it, was laughable enough.

“We are to halt here till forage can be brought from Philadelphia, which I suppose will introduce the month of June, and then we are to proceed upon our tremendous

undertaking of transporting the heavy artillery over the mountains, which, I believe, will compose the greatest difficulty of the campaign ; for, as to any apprehensions of the enemy, I think they are more to be provided against than regarded, as I fancy the French will be obliged to draw their force from the Ohio to repel the attack from the north under the command of Gov. Shirley, &c., who will make three different attempts immediately.

“ I could wish to hear what the assembly and others have done, and are doing, together with such other occurrences as have happened since my departure.

“ I am in very great want of boots, and have desired my brother John to purchase a pair, and send them by you, who I hope will contrive to get them to me by the first opportunity.

“ I have written to my old correspondent, Mrs. Carlyle and must beg my compliments to my good friend Dalton, &c.”

The detention into June took place. It was at Cumberland and Will's Creek that Braddock met the Indian chiefs and made his treaties with them. Washington was sent across the State of Virginia to Williamsburg to bring on four thousand pounds for the military chest. After his return he wrote the following letter to his mother. It seems that the conveniences of slavery did not prevent her from needing German help, nor the exigencies of a campaign hinder her from calling on her son to help her. How curious the fortunes of American history ! The earliest Winthrop papers in New England, like these earliest memorials of Washing-

ton, are lighted up by negotiations for "help" for the ladies who are alluded to.

TO MRS. WASHINGTON.

"NEAR FREDERICKSBURG, CAMP AT WILL'S CREEK, }
7th June, 1755. }

"HON'D MADAM :

"I was favored with your letter, by Mr. Dick, and am sorry it is not in my power to provide you with a Dutch servant, or the butter, agreeably to your desire. We are quite out of the part of the country wherein either is to be had, there being few or no inhabitants where we now lie encamped, and butter cannot be had here to supply the wants of the army.

"I am sorry it was not in my power to call upon you as I went to or returned from Williamsburg. The business that I went upon (viz., money for the army) would not suffer an hour's delay.

"I hope you will spend the chief part of your time at Mount Vernon, as you have proposed to do, where I am certain every thing will be ordered as much for your satisfaction as possible, in the situation we are in there.

"There is a detachment of five hundred men marched from this camp toward the Alleghany,—to prepare the roads, &c., &c. Is it imagined the main body will move in about five day's time.

"As nothing else remarkable occurs to me, I shall conclude (after begging my love and compliments to all friends), dear madam,

"Your most aff'e and dutiful son,

"GEORGE WASHINGTON."

The army moved from the camp at Will's Creek on the 10th of June, reached the Little Meadows

on the 16th, left Washington sick at Youghiogeny on the 24th, and on the 4th of July encamped at Thickety Run. From this point they all moved slowly, and on the 8th of July Washington overtook them just in time for the massacre. Braddock had been a month in marching little more than a hundred miles. Horace Walpole, who in a cant phrase of the time had called Braddock "an Iroquois," says of this march truly enough that "Braddock does not march as if he was at all impatient to be scalped." But the end had now come.

Wholly unmolested by the enemy, the slow train had come within ten or twelve miles of Fort Duquesne. On the morning of the 9th it was on the south side of the Monongahela River. But at a point just above the present village of McKee's Port, the high land or bluff closes so near to the stream that there is no bottom land left on that side. The river was low and the army forded it to the northern side. It moved along the open bottom for two miles,—and then, just where Mr. Carnegie's great steel works at Bessemer now stand, they forded again. They marched up the gentle ascent, to the well defined road which led to the Fort. And here they met their fate.

Beaujeu, the French commander, would have been glad to check Braddock's advance at the crossing of the Monongahela, which the French writers call *Malangeule*. Mr. Shea says:

“The hesitation of the savages (Beaujeu’s allies) delayed his march so long that the enemy had crossed the river and passed the place which he had selected for his ambushade. He had no choice left him but to attack the English in front. The English and American historians in general, and among others, Irving, Everett, and even Lossing, speak of this attack as from an ambushade. This seems to be an error. The French army, if that may be called an army which Washington calls a handful of Frenchmen, threw itself in open sight upon the English advance. Beaujeu was at the head of his braves, dressed as a Canadian *chasseur*, and distinguished as an officer by his gorget. After the first discharge he divided his forces, and attacked the English on both flanks, taking care to cover himself by trees. The English stood firmly, and tried to maintain themselves with their artillery and musketry. Beaujeu fell dead with the *Sieur de Carqueville*, his lieutenant. *La Perade*, *Sieur de Parieux*, ensign, and the *Sieur de Hertel*, cadet, were wounded. But the carbines of the French and the savages made a terrible slaughter in the English ranks. The officers fell on all sides. When the savages saw that the enemy dared not pursue them, they threw themselves upon them, tomahawk in hand. The rout then became general.”

Whether this were an ambushade or not depends on the definition of terms. The English army was marching up a narrow road, “a tunnel of trees,” as it has been called. They met Beaujeu and his men, and the fight began. After it began, in the fashion of frontier fight, of those days, every man who could, chose his tree and picked off his enemy.

The ground of the first encounter is now the site of a village, North Braddock. The Pennsylvania Railroad passes nearly along the line of the road where the armies met.

We have Washington's own account of this battle in two or three letters, one of which Mr. Sparks has printed. Another of them, of which he cites a part in a foot-note, is his letter to Governor Dinwiddie, of Virginia, approaching as nearly as possible the character of an official report. As such, Dinwiddie published it at the time, and it appears in the contemporary Virginia, Philadelphia, and Boston papers, as a letter from a "Virginian officer." Mr. Sargent, the accomplished historian of Braddock's defeat, quotes from this letter, as he found it in *The Pennsylvania Gazette*, the fine phrase: "The Virginia officers and troops behaved like men and died like soldiers." But he was not aware that in these words he was quoting the language of the first soldier of Virginia. Mr. Irving has the same letter, and used it. We copy the article now from the original letter-book.

TO THE HON. ROBERT DINWIDDIE, ESQ., WILLIAMSBURG.

"FORT CUMBERLAND, July 18, 1755.

"HONORABLE SIR:

"As I am favored with an opportunity, I should think myself inexcusable was I to omit giving you some account of our late engagement with the French on the Monongahela the ninth instant.

“We continued our march from Fort Cumberland to Frazer's (which is within seven miles of Du Quesne) without meeting any extraordinary event, having only a straggler or two picked up by the French Indians. When we came to this place we were attacked (very unexpectedly) by about three hundred French and Indians. Our numbers consisted of about thirteen hundred well-armed men, chiefly regulars, who were immediately struck with such an inconceivable panic that nothing but confusion and disobedience of orders prevailed among them. The officers in general behaved with incomparable bravery, for which they greatly suffered, there being nearly sixty killed and wounded, a large proportion of the number we had.

“The Virginia companies behaved like men, and died like soldiers; for, I believe, out of three companies that were on the ground that day, scarce thirty were left alive. Capt. Peyronne and all his officers down to a corporal were killed. Capt. Polson had almost as hard a fate; for only one of his escaped.

“In short, the dastardly behavior of the regular troops (so called) exposed those who were inclined to do their duty to almost certain death, and at length, in spite of every effort to the contrary, [they] broke and ran as sheep before hounds, leaving the artillery, ammunition, provisions, baggage, and in short every thing, a prey to the enemy; and when we endeavored to rally them in hopes of regaining the ground and what we had left upon it, it was with as little success as if we had attempted to have stopped the wild bears of the mountains or rivulets with our feet; for they would break by in despite of every effort that could be made to prevent it.

“The General was wounded in the shoulder and breast,

of which he died three days after. His two *aides-de-camp* were both wounded, but are in a fair way of recovering. Col. Barton and Sir John St. Clair are also wounded, and I hope will get over it. Sir Peter Halket, with many other brave officers, were killed in the field. It is supposed that we had three hundred or more killed; about that number we brought off wounded, and it is conjectured (I believe with much truth) that two-thirds of both received their shot from our own cowardly regulars,¹ who gathered themselves in a body, contrary to orders, ten or twelve deep; would then fire and shoot down the men before them.

“I tremble at the consequences that this defeat may have upon our back settlers, who, I suppose, will all leave their habitations unless there are proper measures taken for their security.

“Col. Dunbar, who commands at present, intends, as soon as his men are reunited at this place, to continue his march to Philadelphia for winter quarters; consequently there will be no men left here, unless it is the shattered remains of the Virginia troops, who are totally inadequate to the protection of the frontiers.

“As Capt. Orme is writing to you, however, I doubt not but that he will give you a circumstantial account of all things, which will make it needless for me to add more than that I am, honorable sir, your most obedient and humble servant,

GEORGE WASHINGTON.”

The terror inflicted by this repulse knew no bounds. It will be seen that in seven days the army retreated over the road which it had taken a month to cross.

¹ It was supposed that Gen. Braddock was shot by one of his own men.

The contemporary view of the battle and the retreat, after it was fairly known, may be judged of from the following letter of the celebrated Keppel.¹ He writes to Governor Lawrence, of Nova Scotia, —the Governor Lawrence of “Evangeline.” Lawrence must have got this letter just in the midst of the Evangeline misery. For it was on the 5th September, ten days after Keppel wrote, that the peasants of Beau-Sejour were assembled at Grand Pré to receive his Majesty's orders for their exile, and on the 10th of September that their removal began.

* * * * *

“Between the first report of the General's death and any confirmation of the story, there was a space of ten days, which gave me flattering hopes that it was only report; but the day before yesterday I received a confirmation of it by express from Will's Creek. I imagine, although it is a melancholy subject, you would be glad of the particulars, and have enclosed you a list of the killed and wounded, a copy of a letter from Mr. Orme, Gen. Braddock's *aide-de-camp* to me, and a copy of Mr. Washington's (who was likewise the General's *aide-de-camp*) to Gov. Dinwiddie. Great blame and shame is laid to the charge of the private men of poor Sir Peter Halket and Col. Dunbar's regiment that was upon the spot. The loss of the artillery is irretrievable, as it enables the French to fortify themselves so strongly, and I fear very much the credit of the British arms among the Indians will now be lost. A number of unhappy circumstances will attend this defeat; it may affect Gen. Shirley in his

¹ From the autograph letter,

attack against Niagara, as well as many other operations that were proposed.

“I give you joy that your expedition up the Bay has succeeded so well ; and I wish, sir, you may always be as successful. I am too far to receive your commands from England, and am, sir, your most obedient and most humble servant,
A. KEPPEL.”

Oddly enough, one of the most spirited contemporary accounts of the battle is by Mr. Day, in “Sandford and Merton.” He must have talked with some soldier who had returned. It confirms Washington’s letter curiously :

“We entered a swampy valley surrounded by shade. It was impossible to continue our march without disordering our ranks, and part of the army extended in itself beyond the rest, while another part of the line involuntarily fell behind.

“While the officers were rectifying the disorder of their men, a sudden noise of musketry was heard in front, which stretched about twenty of our men upon the field. The soldiers instinctively fired towards the part whence they were attacked, and instantly fell back in disorder. But it was equally in vain to retreat, or to go forward ; for it now appeared that we were completely hemmed in. On every side resounded the peals of scattering fire, that thinned our ranks. After a few unavailing discharges, the ranks were broken, and all subordination lost. The woods resounded with cries and groans, and fruitless attempts of our gallant officers to rally their men. By intervals was heard the yell of the victorious savages, who now began to leave the covert, and hew down those who

fled with unrelenting cruelty. Those who stood and those who fled were exposed to equal danger ; those who kept their rank, and endeavored to repel the enemy, exposed their persons to their fire, and were successively shot down, as happened to most of our unfortunate officers, while those who fled frequently rushed upon death.

" A small number of Highlanders sheltered themselves behind the nearest trees, and began to fire with more success at the enemy, who now exposed themselves with less reserve. This seemed to confound them ; and, had not the panic been so general, it is possible that this effort might have changed the fortune of the fight ; for, in another quarter, the provincial troops behaved with the greatest bravery, and, though deserted by the European forces, effected their retreat.

" But it was now too late to hope for victory, or even safety ; the ranks were broken on every side, the greater part of our officers slain or wounded, and our general had expiated with his life his fatal rashness."

Writing to Orme, after his own return to Mount Vernon, Washington says :

" It is impossible to relate the different accounts that were given of our late unhappy engagement, all of which tend greatly to the disadvantage of the poor deceased general, who is censured on all hands." In the same letter he sends his " sincere compliments to Morris, Burton, *Gage*, and Dobson." *Gage* he probably never met again, though he may have seen him through a spy-glass. He was another of Braddock's aids, and will appear again as

General in Boston, when Washington besieges that town.

In such crash of battle, and such failure of home commanders are the colonists,—and Colonel George Washington among them, learning the slow lesson of independence. On the 14th of August Washington learns that he has been appointed to the command of the Virginia troops, with the right to appoint his own field officers.

But, in truth, after the catastrophe, he had been practically the commander of the whole force in its retreat.

Braddock was dead; Orme and Morris were wounded. When Washington arrived at the camp from which the army had moved so proudly that morning, he found a panic reigning. It is said that Braddock, as he died, apologized to Washington for the petulance with which he had rejected his advice, and that he then bequeathed to him his faithful servant Bishop, who had helped to convey him from the field. Fugitives from the battle, and the little body of the head-quarters' staff, and their escort, which still maintained some discipline, arrived at Fort Cumberland on the 17th.

Washington says, in writing to his mother :

“The Virginia troops showed a good deal of bravery, and were nearly all killed. The dastardly behavior of those they call ‘regulars’ exposed all others that were ordered to do their duty to almost certain death, and at

last, in spite of all the efforts of the officers to the contrary, they ran as sheep pursued by dogs, and it was impossible to rally them."

This is an interesting remark, like the similar passage in his official report, as it serves to mark the period when Washington must have begun to feel less respect for the regular discipline of the English army than was natural to a boy educated in the colonies. To his brother, writing at the same time, he says :

"By the all powerful dispensation of Providence I have been protected beyond all human probability or expectation; for I had four bullets through my coat and two horses shot under me, yet escaped unhurt, though death was levelling my companions on every side of me. We have been most scandalously beaten by a trifling body of men. A feeble state of health obliges me to halt here for two or three days to recover a little strength that I may thereby be enabled to proceed homeward with more ease."

When Colonel Dunbar took command it was still in his power to protect the frontier and to have regained something of the prestige which had been lost. But Dunbar left two Virginia and Maryland companies for this service, and really fled to Philadelphia. The enemy did not pursue. In truth, the force which had defeated Braddock and massacred his men was not the main force of the French. It was only a detachment of 72 regulars, 146 Canadians, and 637 Indians—855 in all, led by Beaujeu. The commander of Fort Duquesne was despairing

of defending his fort. Beaujeu prevailed on him to let him try the great experiment which proved so successful. He was himself killed at the beginning of the fight ; but not more than seventy of his little force were killed or wounded "On the whole," says Smollett, reflecting the English opinion of the time, "this was perhaps the most extraordinary victory that ever was obtained, and the farthest flight that was ever made."

A curious letter, written to Captain Montour this autumn, shows what was the Indian name for Washington. Here is a chance for the American epic-poet :

WASHINGTON TO CAPT. MONTOUR.

"WINCHESTER, Oct. 10, 1755.

". . . Recommend me kindly to our good friend, Monocatoothe, and others. Tell them how happy it would make Conotocaurious to have an opportunity of shaking them by the hand at Fort Cumberland, and how glad he would be to treat with them as brothers of our great king beyond the waters."

In another letter of the same autumn he calls George II. "the best of kings." In another century Thackeray calls him "the old pagan," and "the strutting turkey-cock."

In a sermon preached the same summer by Rev. Mr. Davis, afterwards President of Princeton College, he spoke of Washington's preservation on the day of Braddock's fight, and said : "I cannot but hope Providence has hitherto preserved him in so signal a manner for some important service to his

country." His seal, bearing his initials, was found on the battle-field eighty years after. He says himself at the time : "I had four bullets through my coat." Of these facts there can be no question. A statement more romantic, which comes to us in the somewhat rhetorical narrative of Mr. Custis, has probably some foundation in fact. He says when in 1770 Washington visited the Kanawha country a body of Indians met them, commanded by the same chief who led the Indians against Braddock. He says that this Indian maintained towards Washington the most reverential deference. A council fire was lighted, and the chief addressed the Virginians. He said then that at Braddock's fight he bade his men aim at Washington, but that their aim was vain. "A power mightier than we shielded him from harm. He cannot die in battle."

Washington himself, in his diary of 1770, speaks of an embassy led by White Mingo, which his party met ; but he makes no allusion to the extraordinary speech which Mr. Custis reports at length. Custis received the story from Dr. Craik, who was present on the occasion, and was much impressed by the incident. According to Mr. Custis, Dr. Craik told it to a party of officers on the eve of the battle of Monmouth. No Indian ever made such a speech as Custis puts in the mouth of this unknown savage, whom he miscalls "a sachem." But Craik was a man of truth, and there can be little doubt there was some foundation for the story.



CHAPTER V.

WAR ON THE FRONTIER.

Return to Mount Vernon—Ill Health—Another Campaign—Appointed to Command—Dinwiddie's Displeasure—William Shirley—Journey to Boston—Return—Miss Mary Philipse—War on the Frontier—Lord Loudoun—Mount Vernon Again—Hunting Shirts—Mrs. Custis—Love-Letters—A Successful Campaign.

WASHINGTON arrived at Mount Vernon on the 26th of July, feeble from sickness, and discouraged to the very heart by the failure of the expedition. He writes a very melancholy letter to his brother Augustine :

“What did I get by going to the Ohio? Why, after putting myself to a considerable expense in equipping and providing necessaries for the campaign, I went out, was sadly beaten, and lost all. Came in, and had my commission taken from me; or, in other words, had my command reduced under the pretence of an order from home. I then went out and volunteered with General Braddock, and lost all my horses and many other things. But this being a voluntary act I ought not to mention it; nor should I, were it not to show that I have been on the losing way ever since I entered the service, which is now nearly two years.”

In such a crisis of affairs Governor Dinwiddie convened the Virginia Assembly to devise measures

for public safety. To the justice of the Virginians it ought to be said, that when danger came upon them they always showed their public spirit. They issued orders at once for raising a regiment of 1,000 men. Washington was proposed as a candidate for the command. His poor mother begged him not to accept it. Washington had refused to ask for it, and he had named the only conditions on which he would take it. But to his mother he writes :

“HONORED MADAM :

“If it is in my power to avoid going to the Ohio again, I shall ; but if the command is pressed upon me by the general voice of the country, and offered upon such terms as cannot be objected against, it would reflect dishonor on me to refuse it. And that I am sure must and ought to give you greater uneasiness than my going in an honorable command. Upon no other terms will I accept it. At present I have no proposals made to me, nor have I any advice of such an intention, except from private hands.”¹

That very day, however, he received intelligence that Governor Dinwiddie had commissioned him on the very terms which he had dictated. The assembly also had voted three hundred pounds to him and proportionate sums to other officers and to the privates of the Virginia companies in consideration of their gallant conduct and their losses. The appointment of Washington was made simply in deference to the public sentiment of Virginia. Din-

¹ Sparks' "Washington," vol. ii.

widdie had been obliged to sacrifice his own personal inclination, which was in favor of Colonel Innes, the other candidate. From this time forward it is thought that Dinwiddie never regarded Washington with a friendly eye. Washington received his instructions, and went on the 14th of September to Winchester, where he fixed his headquarters. He was here near to that "Greenway Court," where he had spent so much of the three years of his early life. Here again he found his old friend, Lord Fairfax. He was Lord-Lieutenant of the County, just what he would like to be. Greenway Court was his head-quarters. Lord Fairfax had been an officer in the "Blues" in England, and all his military ardor had revived. He had organized a troop of horse, which he exercised himself, and actually he may be said to have served under Washington's command. On one occasion, when Washington was visiting the frontier, the alarm came that a body of Indians was ravaging the country. Washington was at once sent for. Lord Fairfax called on the militia to come in. They showed no enthusiasm, and Washington's indignation at the cowardice of the people whom he was to protect rose almost without bounds. The panic and confusion increased. After he returned to Winchester, he put himself at the head of about forty men, and pushed out to the place, only twelve miles off, which the last alarm had come from. It

proved to be wholly unfounded. The ferocious party of Indians were two black men in quest of cattle ; but this report, when it arrived at Alexandria, was magnified into a story that Winchester was in flames. As the winter came on, such alarms died away, and quiet, in a measure, returned.

The commander to whom the English government had now, in 1755, entrusted the general oversight of its American affairs, after much blundering and consequent failure, was William Shirley. It is a matter of surprise and of regret that the life of Shirley was not properly written when the materials existed from which it could have been prepared. For the years of his American administration he distinguished himself as a skilful, prompt, and successful officer. He never quarrelled when a quarrel was not necessary. He always kept in sight the aim for which he was contending, and he did much, as it proved, in that course of education by which the colonists were trained to learn their own strength. By the death of Braddock, Governor Shirley was entrusted with the chief command of the English enterprises in America. It was, accordingly, to him that Washington went in person for the purpose of bringing light out of darkness, if he could, or wisdom out of folly, in that complicated matter of the worth of a provincial commission, which had so annoyed him from the very beginning of his military service. Either a Virginia colonel

might command a major commissioned by King George, or he might not. Or a colonel, commissioned on the 1st of May by Governor Dinwiddie, might command a colonel commissioned by George the Second on the 1st of June, or he might not. Washington and his friends in the Virginia contingent meant to find out what was the answer to these questions.

And Washington had had quite enough of the long-delayed course of correspondence on such matters. He proposed now to go himself. Shirley was in Boston, 500 miles from Washington's home ; but the distance was a trifle, in comparison with the importance of the object to be secured. So soon as the active campaign, or the prospect of it, was over, he prepared to go to Boston, to obtain from Shirley a decision on the special point which had arisen in Virginia, and a general regulation by which such difficulties would in future be prevented. Captain Stewart, of the Virginia Light Horse, accompanied him, and also his own aide, Captain George Mercer, of Virginia. These gentlemen each had one or two colored servants in livery. As was the necessity of the time, the party went on horseback, though they travelled in the depth of winter. They remained for some days in Philadelphia, and for some days further in New York.

Although the connection between the colonies was then not nearly so close as the events of twenty

years after made it, still the common danger had interested every one in the fortunes of Virginia. Although he was so young, George Washington's name was probably better known in Pennsylvania, in New York, in Connecticut, and in Massachusetts, than that of any other Virginian of his time, unless it were Governor Dinwiddie's. It may easily be imagined, therefore, that the brilliant little party, as it passed from town to town, attracted no little attention. In Philadelphia, in New York, and in Boston, the young gentlemen received the most cordial welcome, and saw the very best of society. Washington stayed long enough in Boston to succeed in interesting Shirley in his object. So far as the question of rank between officers commissioned by different colonies was concerned, he carried his point. Governor Shirley gave a written order, saying that each provincial officer must obey his superior in nominal rank, even if that superior were commissioned by another colony. Such difficulties, therefore, as Washington had had with insubordinate captains, from Maryland, from North Carolina, and South Carolina, were at an end. But Shirley knew too well the temper of the English army, and the men from whom he received instructions in London, to venture any further. He would not say that provincial officers might command officers commissioned by the Crown, merely on the strength of their provincial rank. He left rankling, therefore,

the thorn which, from the very beginning of any attempted co-operation between the provincial troops and the troops of England, had made a sore place in every American establishment.

While he was in Boston, Washington attended the meeting of the General Court, then held in what is now known as the Old State House, and was greatly interested in the discussions of the plans of military operations. He received the most cordial attentions from the social leaders of the town, to which he referred, with interest, twenty years later, when he entered it as a triumphant commander-in-chief. The party returned to New York, and he made another stay there of several days.

In New York resided Beverly Robinson, who was the son of the Speaker of the Virginia House of Burgesses. This gentleman had lately married, and at his house, where Washington was a frequent guest, he met Miss Mary Philipse, a very charming young lady. She was a sister of Mrs. Robinson, and co-heiress with her to the property of Mr. Adolphus Philipse, a rich land-owner, whose fine old manor-house is still standing on the banks of the Hudson, at Yonkers. Washington admired Miss Philipse and did not conceal his admiration. A tradition says, "that he offered himself to her; that he sought her hand, but was refused." Mr. Irving, who had good opportunity to learn the basis of this

tradition, decides "that it is not very probable." He thinks "the most probable version of the story is, that Washington was called away by his public duties before he had made sufficient approaches in his siege of the lady's heart, to warrant a summons to surrender."

What we know happened was this: that he was obliged to be at Williamsburg, in Virginia, in the latter part of March, attending the meeting of the Legislature. Here he was to promote measures for the capture of Fort Duquesne, at the head of the Ohio River. The neighboring states of Maryland and Pennsylvania, willing enough to help themselves, showed no disposition to join Virginia in an attack on the French position. More than this, every thing was to be provided if so strong a post was to be attacked in force. Washington was engaged, therefore, earnestly in begging the Assembly to increase the forces of Virginia and to improve their military laws.

Human life is dramatic. While he was engaged in these cares, he received, almost at once, two despatches. One was from a friend in New York, who warned him that Morris, his fellow aide under Braddock, was paying close court to Miss Philipse. If Washington meant to persevere in that direction, he must return to New York as quickly as he might. But, alas, the other news made it certain that the French and Indians were again spreading terror and

desolation through the frontier beyond Winchester. There was no time to be lost in love-making. Washington repaired in haste to the post which had been established in Winchester, that he might take command of the troops there assembled, and Captain Morris was left to carry off successfully the Helen of this new Iliad.

When he arrived at Winchester, Washington found that, for once, the frontier troubles had not been exaggerated. The French had succeeded in obtaining the cordial co-operation of the savages. They had, in more than one instance, penetrated the valley of the Shenandoah, and even in the neighborhood of Winchester, people had been killed by them.

Washington's own sensibilities were touched in a peculiar way when he found that his old friend, Lord Fairfax, in his beautiful retreat of Greenway Court, was himself in danger. His friends knew well that the savages regarded him as a great chief, and would make special effort to make him prisoner if they could. His nephew, Colonel Martin, of the militia, who resided with him, suggested the expediency of a removal to the lower settlements, beyond the Blue Ridge. The high-spirited old nobleman demurred; his heart clung to the home which he had formed in the wilderness.

"I am an old man," said he, "and it is of little importance whether I fall by the tomahawk or die of disease

and old age ; but you are young, and, it is to be hoped, have many years before you ; therefore, decide for us both. My only fear is that if we retire, the whole district will break up and take to flight, and this fine country, which I have been at such cost and trouble to improve, will again become a wilderness."

In fact, however, the old man lived until 1781.

Mr. Robinson, the Speaker of the House wrote to Washington : " Our hopes, Dear George, are all fixed on you for bringing our affairs to a happy issue." In the same letter he urged him not to throw up his commission.

Washington had two matters upon his hands at this time. First of all, he had to protect and encourage the frontier. Further, he had to find out whether Lord Loudoun had not conceived some false impressions regarding Virginia and her people. Indeed, while he and his immediate companions at home were criticising their own government for its weakness and fickleness, whenever he represented them to the other colonies it was his duty to show what it had done, and not to dwell upon its failures. The basis of his own plan was the wish to build a strong fort at Winchester, which was, in fact, the central point of the frontier settlements. Here he would be glad to make a great deposit of military stores, a place for head-quarters of the command, and a place of refuge for the families of men who were obliged to take the field. Besides this,

he proposed to have three or four considerable establishments, with strong garrisons, upon the frontier. He saw no reason why the State of Virginia should keep up the expense of Fort Cumberland, which was not within its own territory, and was out of the track of Indian encroachments. He also proposed strong military enactments which should raise the militia, when they were embodied, into the character of a regular armed force.

Unfortunately for him and for Virginia, Governor Dinwiddie had conceived very different plans, of which some account has been given above. He proposed a series of forts, which would have been little more than block-houses, twenty-three in number, to be scattered all along the frontier. He proposed to keep up Fort Cumberland also, although at a great expense. But he yielded so far to Washington as to permit the establishment of the great central fort at Winchester.

Washington devoted himself to this business. He gave to the new station the name of Fort Loudoun, in honor of Lord Loudoun, for whose arrival in Virginia he was hoping. Through the summer of 1756 he used such force as he could command for the establishment of this post, which in the rather grand language of the day is called a fortress. He was obliged also to select sites for the twenty-three frontier posts of which he did not approve. This work kept him very often in the wilderness,

and was a service of peril. At one time, indeed, when with only a servant and a guide he was journeying in a wild part of the country, he learned that two men had been murdered by Indians in a certain defile shortly after he had passed through it.

He had more reason to be dissatisfied with the behavior of the militia who were called into service. Fortunately for him, no formidable encroachments were made by the French this summer. If there had been, the result which he had himself seen in the surrender of Fort Necessity and in the defeat of General Braddock might have been repeated. Before the summer was ended, he was so completely at variance with Governor Dinwiddie, that, in spite of all his remonstrances, the Governor ordered that the garrisons should be withdrawn from most of the small frontier forts to strengthen Fort Cumberland. He arranged that the head-quarters of the army should be established at that place, and even sent there most of the troops from Winchester. No force, indeed, was needed at Fort Cumberland, and it was out of the way in most cases of alarm. But by these movements, made by Governor Dinwiddie from a distance, the frontier was weakened wherever an attack might have been expected. It is not too much to say that Dinwiddie was governed in these movements by his jealousy of the reputation which Washington had already gained among the people of the province. It is intimated

also that there was a little Scotch faction at Williamsburg, who thought that they might disgust Washington with the service, induce him to resign, and make a place for Colonel Innis, who was his rival.

The plan on the northern frontier was that a movement should be made at once against Niagara, on the west of New York, and against Montreal upon the north. But so little energy was there in the government at London, that General Abercrombie, who was next in command to Lord Loudoun, did not reach Albany, which was to be his head-quarters, until the 25th of June, when the season for the campaign was well forward. Abercrombie's movements were then so slow and irresolute that he disgusted all the provincial troops and their officers. When, at last, Lord Loudoun himself, the commander-in-chief, arrived, on the 29th of July, nothing had been done. Against these two commanders was Montcalm, one of the ablest soldiers of the enemy. Montcalm moved promptly up the St. Lawrence, besieged the forts which had the names "Oswego" and "Ontario," and compelled the garrisons to surrender as prisoners of war. This was substantially the end of the great northern campaign. The fame of it, however, had gone so far, that it probably did relieve the Virginian settlements to a certain extent from invasions from Fort Duquesne. The commander at that post

may well have been excused, if he could not conceive of such delays as rendered powerless the great English forces at the northeast of him. After this unsatisfactory year was over, Washington determined that if he were to remain in the military service it must be with a better understanding on both sides between himself and his chiefs. Loudoun's welcome was such as to gratify a young man, and he found himself frequently consulted on points of frontier service. He urged in vain that a new attempt should be made on the French fort at the head of the Ohio, while attacks were made on Canada. But Lord Loudoun was not willing to attempt so much, and insisted that the middle and southern provinces should stand on the defensive. He even ordered the Virginians to send four hundred of their troops to the South Carolina frontier, so that, in fact, her own available force was weaker than before. Washington renewed the attempt which he had made with Shirley, to have his own regiment placed on the same footing as if it were in the regular army, and in connection with this plan he would have been glad to obtain a king's commission. But it was not in the book of the fates that he should ever directly serve under an English king.

He did succeed in persuading Loudoun that Fort Cumberland must be reduced to a subordinate position and the Virginia garrison be ordered back to

Winchester. He was instructed also to co-operate in military affairs with Colonel Stanwix, in command on the Pennsylvania frontier. This relationship grew into a cordial, mutual esteem between the two officers. So far satisfied, Washington returned to his routine duties in defending the frontier against savages; and Lord Loudoun and the English government lost the opportunity of placing in active command the man whom Frederick the Great afterwards spoke of as the greatest general of his time. But at that period, however it may have been since, it was not the custom in the English service to appoint to places of command the fittest men who could be found. And England and America were consequently destined to see the year 1757 pass, as the year 1756 had passed, without any energetic measures against an enemy, whose forces in America were entirely inferior to those under the control of the English king.

In point of fact, the operations at the north were all unsuccessful. The year wore away for Washington in the harassing service of defending a wide frontier with an insufficient and badly organized force, and in continual misunderstandings with Governor Dinwiddie. Once and again he addressed Dinwiddie directly, to ask him that he might have an opportunity to explain the misrepresentations made to him. It is curious enough, indeed, that a man who is now recollected only because he stood

in any personal relations to George Washington, should at that time have had the petty pride of a superior, scolding a young officer for his absence from this place or that place, and taking him to task, as if he were a wayward boy. We shall have more than one such instance of the mistakes of precedence in human arrangements, as we follow this history.

The vexations which Washington received, and the countless fatigues of frontier service, affected his health. For some time he struggled, while on duty, with repeated attacks of dysentery and fever; but at length relinquished his post near the end of the year, and retired to Mount Vernon. He was affected by the return of his malady for several months. He thought the symptoms indicative of a consumptive decline. "My constitution," he writes "is much impaired, and nothing can retrieve it but the greatest care and the most circumspect course of life." It is probably at this time that he had one or more attacks which are called afterwards pleurisy, which are spoken of by the physicians who had the care of him in his last illness. But after this period, although he was ill more than once, there seems to be no reference to delicacy of the lungs in his disorders. As the spring of 1758 came on, he had the pleasure of seeing that his favorite measure, the reduction of Fort Duquesne, was at last resolved upon. He was still commander-in-chief of the Virginia troops, which were now considerably in-

creased by an act of the Assembly. The whole of this force was to make a part of General Forbes's army in the expedition against Fort Duquesne.

He was at Mount Vernon on the 4th of March. At that time he writes :

“ I am at this time under a strict regimen, and shall set out to-morrow for Williamsburg to receive the advice of the best physicians there. I have thoughts of quitting my command and retiring from all public business, leaving my post to be filled by some other person more capable of the task, and who may, perhaps, have his endeavors crowned with better success than mine.”

He went to Williamsburg ; he probably consulted with the government there, and he was at Fort Loudoun, at Winchester, about the first of April. His correspondence at once begins to prepare actively for the campaign. He writes to his old friend Halkett, who had been on Braddock's staff : “ My dear Halkett, are we to have you once more among us ? And shall we revisit together a spot that proved so fatal to so many of our former brave companions ? Yes, and I rejoice at it, hoping it will now be in our power to testify a just abhorrence of the cruel butcheries exercised on our friends in the unfortunate day of General Braddock's defeat ; and, moreover, to show our enemies that we can practise all that lenity of which they boast without affording any adequate proofs.” He had asked Stanwix, whom he knew and trusted, to represent him favorably to General

Forbes. Before the 23d of April he had heard from Forbes indirectly by a letter addressed to President Blair, and was glad to find that Forbes had confidence in him. On the 3d of July he writes from the camp near Fort Cumberland, which was situated near the present city of Cumberland, a letter to Colonel Bouquet. It makes the first allusion, which we remember, to the use of the hunting shirt as a uniform, which afterwards became so celebrated under Morgan. Bouquet had written : ‘ Major Lewis, with your two hundred men, arrived here last night. I am extremely obliged to you for this extraordinary despatch. Their dress shall be our pattern in this expedition.’ Again, afterwards, he says : “The dress takes very well here, and, thank God, we see nothing but shirts and blankets.” To which Washington replied :

“It gives me great pleasure that you approve the dress I have put my men into. It is evident that soldiers in that trim are better able to carry their provisions, are fitter for the active service we must engage in, less liable to sink under the fatigues of a march, and we thus get rid of much baggage, which would lengthen our line of march. These, and not whim or caprice, were my reasons for ordering this dress.”

The detail is not unimportant when we remember that it proved at the end of this century that Lord Cornwallis, by the tactics which he introduced in his army, and the French officers who had seen

the American light infantry, revolutionized the movements of European armies. The days of heavy infantry were over, and the days of light infantry began, after the experience of the American Revolution.

Meanwhile, he carried into this campaign one happy memory and hope. Whatever may have been the wound made on his heart by the attractions of Miss Philipse, it was so far cured that in the spring of 1758 he engaged himself to Martha Custis, the beautiful widow of Daniel Parke Custis. He was on his way from Mount Vernon to Williamsburg for one of his consultations before the opening of the campaign. It was on a beautiful day in May when with his servant, Bishop, he came down to the Pamunkey River, not far from a public crossing, known as William's Ferry. The tradition says that he was riding a powerful chestnut-brown horse, which had been General Braddock's, and that Bishop, his servant, was as tall as he himself was, and of military mien. Major Chamberlayne, who lived in a fine house not far from the White House, which still gives its name to that landing at the Pamunkey, saw from his side of the river the travellers as they crossed the ferry. He recognized Washington, and begged him to stay at his house for a day or two. Washington declined, giving urgent business as his excuse. Major Chamberlayne pressed the invitation, and said that one of

the most charming young widows in all Virginia was his guest at the moment. This lady was Mrs. Custis.

The handsome young colonel was then the most distinguished soldier in Virginia. It is said that he and Mrs. Custis "were mutually pleased at the moment of the introduction ; that here was a notable case of love at first sight." However that may be, it is sure that the colonel stayed long after the time when he had bidden Bishop to bring his horse to the door ; and the sun was just setting when he arose to depart. Major Chamberlayne would not permit his departure, and said : "No guest ever leaves my house after sunset." Washington was not sorry for the prohibition. He and Mrs. Custis lingered long in conversation. It is said they lingered "after the other guests had retired." It is certain that the next morning was well advanced before his important business dragged him to Williamsburg. He finished it with all possible despatch. He returned to the Pamunkey, and this time stopped, not at Major Chamberlayne's house, but at the White House, where he was graciously received by its mistress. This was the evening of a delicious day. He remained as a guest till late the next day, and, before he left, he and Martha Custis had pledged their troth to each other. In after life, Mrs. Washington, afraid of just such books as the reader has in his hand, succeeded in

destroying all her letters to him, and all his letters to her, which she could find, perhaps with one or two choice exceptions. It is said that there are but four or five of his letters to her in existence. One of these, written on the 20th of July, of the year of their engagement, has been copied by Mr. Lossing from the autograph, and is in these words :

“We have begun our march for the Ohio. A courier is starting for Williamsburg, and I embrace the opportunity to send a few words to one whose life is now inseparable from mine. Since that happy hour when we made our pledges to each other, my thoughts have been continually going to you as to another self. That an All powerful Providence may keep us both in safety, is the prayer of your ever faithful and ever affectionate friend,
“G. WASHINGTON.”

A second letter in the same campaign is a queer mixture of the slow fun of those times of sentiment and of history, as the following extracts will show :

“CAMP AT RAYS TOWN, 25th Sept., 1758.

“DEAR MADAM:—Do we still misunderstand the true meaning of each others Letters? I think it must appear so, tho’ I would feign the contrary as I cannot speak plainer without—but I ’ll say no more, and leave you to guess the rest.

“I am now furnish’d with News of a very Interesting nature, I know it will affect you, but as you must hear it from others I will state it myself. The 12th past then, Major Grant with a chosen Detachment of 800 Men Marched

from our advanced Post to Loyal Hannan against Fort Du-quesne. On the night of the 13th he arrived at that place or rather upon a Hill near to it; from whence went a Party and viewed the Works, made what observation's they could and burnt a Loge House not far from the Walls. Egg'd on rather than satisfied by this success, Major Grant must needs Insult the Enemy next morning by beating the Riveille in different places in view, this caused a great Body of Men to Sallie from the Fort and an obstinate engagement to ensue, which was maintained on Our Side with the utmost efforts that bravery could yield, till being overpower'd and quite Surrounded they were obliged to Retreat with the loss of 22 officers killed and 278 Men besides wounded.

* * * * *

“What was the great end proposed by this attempt, or what will be the event of its failure, I cant take upon me to determine; it appears however (from the best Accts) that the Enemy lost more Men than we did in the engagement. Thus it is the Lives of the brave are often disposed of—but who is there that does not rather Envy, than regret a Death that gives birth to Honour and Glorious memory.

* * * * *

“So miserably has this Expedition been managed, that I expect after a Months further Tryal, and the loss of many more Men by the Sword, Cold and Perhaps Famine, we shall give the Expedition over as Impracticable this Season and retire to the Inhabitants condemned by the World and derided by our Friends. I should think my time more agreeably spent, believe me, in playing a part in Cato with the Company you mention, and myself doubly happy in being the Juba to such a Marcia as you must make.

“Your agreeable Letter contained these words ‘My Sisters and Nancy Gist who neither of them expect to be here soon after our return from Town, desire you to accept their best Compliments &c.’ Pray are these Ladies upon a Matrimonial Scheme? Is Miss Fairfax to be transformed into that charming Domestic—a Martin—and Miss Cary to a Fa——re. What does Miss Gist turn to—A Cocke—that cant be we have him here.

“One thing more and then have done, you ask if I am not tird at the length of your Letter? No Madam I am not, nor never can be while the Lines are an inch asunder to bring you in haste to the end of the Paper. you may be tird of mine by this. Adieu dear Madam, you possibly will hear something of me, or from me before we shall meet. I must beg the favour of you to make my Compliments to Col^r Cary and the Ladies with you, and believe that I am most unalterably

“Yr Most Obedt, and Oblig’d

“G^o WASHINGTON.”

A new era had come when Pitt was put in charge of affairs in England. It is said that when he sent a commander, he asked him what was the force which he wished to employ, and whatever the officer wanted, Pitt gave him double the strength he asked for; so that, whoever else was responsible for lack of success, Pitt himself might not be. Pitt was greatly discouraged at the failure of Abercrombie before Ticonderoga in 1758. “I own this news has sunk my spirits,” he wrote, “and has left very painful impressions on my mind.” But he did not lose hope.

On the frontier in which Washington was inter-

ested, he entrusted the command to John Forbes, a Scotchman. Washington was now in full command of the Virginian levies. Forbes had determined to cross the mountains by a route heretofore untried. Washington urged him to avail himself of Braddock's route, and to take advantage of the time which had been spent in opening it. Rightly or wrongly, but with Scotch persistency, Forbes held upon his plan. Washington loyally seconded the movement which he had not advised. In fact, the French were already beaten. The commander at Fort Duquesne knew that he could not hold the post, after Bradstreet's success at Frontenac had cut off his supplies of food. The English were delayed by a wet October, but Forbes, carried on his litter, arrived at Loyal Hanna, the farthest outpost, in early November. He had not thought that he could go forward farther, so bad were the roads and so late the season. But news was brought that the French were at their last gasp. A light force was pressed forward which, at Turkey Creek, heard the glad explosion, announcing that the fort at Duquesne had been blown up and that the garrison was withdrawn.

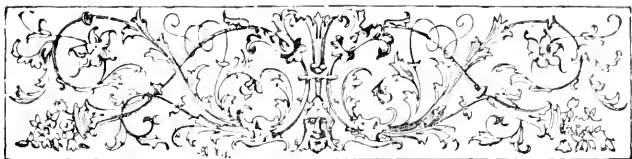
The next year brought the great success of Wolfe in Quebec, and the long contest was practically over.

His military correspondence of these years all shows his practical ability, even at this early period of his life, and the satisfaction with which, at last, he conducts a campaign now that he is in the chief command, where he has seen one misconducted

before. Still he is dissatisfied with Bouquet's plans,—and urged that they should advance by Braddock's road, in which wish he was overruled. Still, they succeeded. After almost endless delays,—which seemed to him unnecessary, he has the satisfaction of writing to Fauquier, who now holds the place of Governor, “that Fort Duquesne, or the ground rather on which it stood, was possessed by His Majesty's troops on the 25th of November.

“The enemy, after letting us get within a day's march of the place, burned the fort and ran away by the light of it at night, going down the Ohio by water, to the number of about five hundred men, according to our best information. This possession of the fort has been matter of surprise to the whole army, and we cannot attribute it to more probable causes than the weakness of the enemy, want of provisions, and the defection of their Indians. Of these circumstances we were luckily informed by three prisoners, who providentially fell into our hands at Loyal Hanna, when we despaired of proceeding farther. A council of war had determined that it was not advisable to advance this season beyond that place; but the above information caused us to march on without tents or baggage, and with only a light train of artillery. We have thus happily succeeded. It would be tedious, and I think unnecessary, to relate every trivial circumstance that has happened since my last. To do this, if needful, shall be the employment of a leisure hour, when I shall have the pleasure to pay my respects to your Honor.”¹

¹ Letter in Sparks, vol. ii., p. 320.



CHAPTER VI.

PEACE AND HOME.

Washington's Love of Home—His Marriage—Visit to Williamsburg—Mount Vernon—Administration of the Property of His Wife and Her Children—Correspondence with His English Agents—His Tobacco and Flour Excellent—Severe Illness—Purchases for Master John and Miss Patty Custis—His Indignation at Neglect of Duty—Agricultural Experiments—Fondness for Riding—Routine of a Country Day—Interest in Military Affairs—Love of Sport—Constant Interest in Public Business—Tour to Ohio Valley—John Custis's Education—Patty's Death—John's Marriage.

WASHINGTON had a real love of home. In the midst of his campaigns, this peeps out sometimes in a curious way, as one reads his letters. And this year of peace meant for him marriage to the beautiful woman who had engaged herself to him when he was in the very thick of war. He returned to the civilized parts of Virginia in time to be married to Mrs. Custis at her own house, the White House on the Pamunkey River, on the 6th of January, 1759. The wedding was celebrated with all the solemnities and elegancies of a liberal hospitality, with a large and joyful assemblage of friends.

He lived at the White House, which gave its name to that region, a name still remembered, for the first three months after his marriage. He was a member of the House of Burgesses from Fairfax, his own county, and soon after the wedding he went to Williamsburg to take his seat. It had been determined in the House that he should be met by fit recognition of his distinguished services. The Speaker, Robinson, addressed him in eloquent language, and thanked him on behalf of the colony for the success of his military administration. Washington was taken unawares. He rose to reply, blushed, stammered, trembled, and could not speak. It was then that the Speaker made the remark which has become almost proverbial: "Sit down, Mr. Washington; your modesty is equal to your valor, and that surpasses the power of any language that I possess." From this time Washington attended the meetings of the colonial legislature for fifteen different sessions. His experience in that body was of great importance to him. He certainly overcame the diffidence of the beginning, and soon became an easy speaker. His acquaintance with men and with affairs grew as he met the delegates from all parts of the colony, and he learned here, or somewhere else, that tolerance for ignorant and foolish people, which is a very interesting characteristic of his later habits of dealing with men. So soon as the session ended, he led his bride back to



MARTHA WASHINGTON.

Mount Vernon, which was to be their home. The title to this property had come to him, as has been said, on the death of his niece, to whom it had passed after the death of Lawrence Washington.

There are few more beautiful situations in America. Whoever selected the site as a place for a residence, chose well. At the time when Washington took his bride there, the house was a handsome one for the Virginia of the day ; but it was by no means so large as the house now known to many Americans as the home of Washington. His means, however, were ample, and he soon began a series of improvements, which continued from that time almost to his death. Apart from his own property, he had the administration of the estate of his wife. Her first husband, Mr. Custis, had left large landed property and forty-five thousand pounds sterling in money. One third of this fell to his widow on his death ; two thirds were shared by her two children, a boy of six and a girl of four years of age. By a special vote of the General Court of Virginia, Washington was entrusted with the care of this property. His discharge of that trust made one of the special duties of his life. And we shall find again and again, in the letters, either to these young people themselves or to others, allusion to their estate as different from his own. Soon after his marriage, it is evident that he had had an intention or wish to visit England. But

it was not so easy to cross the ocean with a lady then as it is now, and his marriage seems to have put an end to his ideas of foreign travel. "I am now, I believe," he writes, "fixed here with an agreeable partner for life. I find more happiness in retirement than I ever experienced in the wide and bustling world."

This was certainly true. Washington had no lack of resources in home life. He was fond of the detail of agriculture. He was even fond of the detail of accounts. The business of a Virginia planter threw him into somewhat wide relations. He shipped his own crops. He received the returns directly,—frequently in English goods, of which, on this side, he was to take charge. His English correspondents, to whom we have his business letters, were Robert Carey, a merchant, Richard Washington, and Capel Hanbury, Francis Dandridge, and occasionally one of his old military friends.

Although the subjects of these letters generally relate to the business of the year, or to the immediate needs of Mount Vernon or the family, they make an interesting series, if only as a display of the habits of the time. Washington's own notions were always large and liberal. He meant to furnish Mount Vernon with the best. His equipages, his furniture and his books, the clothing for his household and his family, are always provided for on a liberal scale. There is little or no hectoring of his

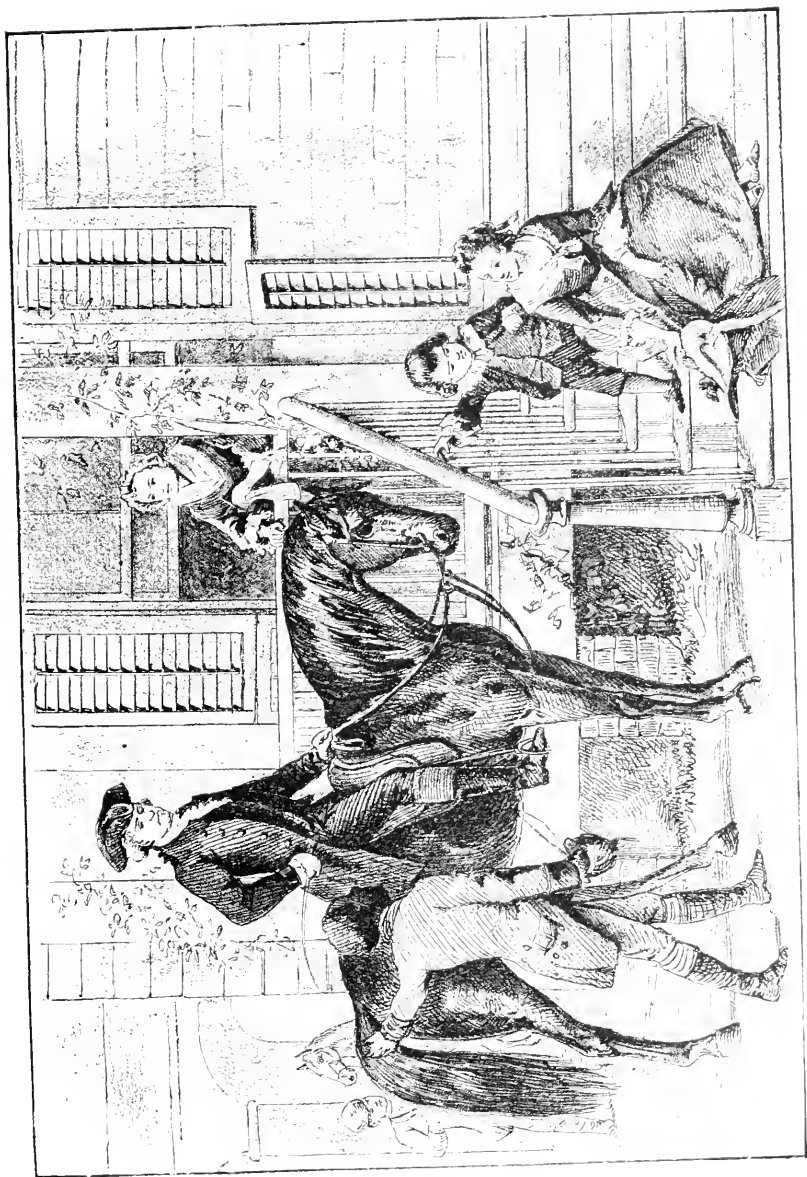
correspondents, or complaints that they do not attend to his instructions. He gave those instructions distinctly, and seems to have generally been fortunate enough to secure intelligent co-operation in his agents on the other side. Twice a year there is a careful inventory of every article needed for household purposes, every article of wearing apparel for himself and each member of the family. These lists go so far as to give the measures by which clothing was to be made. He entered with his own hand, in books prepared for the purpose, these long lists of orders, and could tell if the agent took any advantage of him, even in the smallest matter.

Here is an illustration of the way in which he showed his agents that he did not mean to be cheated :

“ Let me beseech you to give the necessary directions for purchasing these goods upon the best terms. It is needless for me to particularize the sorts, qualities, or taste I would choose to have them in, unless it is to be observed ; and you may believe me when I tell you that instead of getting things good and fashionable in their several kinds, we often have articles sent us that could only have been used by our forefathers in days of yore.”

These Virginia people knew as well how they should be dressed as if they had lived in London.

“ It is a custom, I have reason to believe, with many of the shop-keepers and tradesmen in London, when they know goods are bespoken for exportation, to palm some-



times old and sometimes very slight and indifferent ones upon us, taking care at the same time to advance ten, fifteen, or perhaps twenty per cent. upon them."

It seems to be well established that the care taken in the packing and curing of his tobacco reaped its reward in the steadiness of its hold in the English market; and there are memoranda still existing which show that he received a high price for his flour, and that his reputation was well-known among the dealers.

It is a little curious, as he supplied so much tobacco for other people to use, that, from the beginning of his life to the end of it, he detested all the personal habits connected with tobacco, and never himself made use of it.

In 1759, writing to Richard Washington in London, he says that his brother, who has been in England, has found no benefit to his health; but he adds:

"The longing desire which for many years I have had of visiting the great metropolis of that kingdom is not in the least abated by his prejudices, because I think the small share of health he enjoyed while there must have given a check to any pleasure he might anticipate, and would render any place irksome; but I am now tied, and must set inclination aside."

This was while he was yet in military command. The next year, he says, writing to the same gentleman about indulging himself in a trip to England;

“It depends upon so many contingencies, which in all probability may never occur, that I dare not even think of such a gratification. Nothing, however, is more ardently desired. But Mrs. Washington and myself would both think ourselves very happy in the opportunity of showing you the Virginia hospitality, which is the most agreeable entertainment we can give, or a stranger expect to find, in an infant, woody country like ours.”

Writing to the same gentleman the next year, he says :

“I do not know that I can muster up one tittle of news to communicate. In short, the occurrences of this part of the world are at present scarce worth reciting, for as we live in a state of peaceful tranquillity ourselves, so we are at very little trouble to inquire after the operations against the Cherokees, who are the only people that disturb the repose of this great continent.”

After this allusion to public affairs, he speaks of his own private business :

“On the other side is an invoice of clothes, which I beg the favor of you to purchase for me, and to send them by the first ship bound to this river. As they are designed for wearing apparel for myself, I have committed the choice of them to your fancy, having the best opinion of your taste. I want neither lace nor embroidery ; plain clothes with gold or silver buttons, if worn in genteel dress, are all that I desire. I have hitherto had my clothes made by one Charles Lawrence. Whether it be the fault of the tailor or of the measure sent, I cannot say ; but certain it is, my clothes have never fitted me well. I therefore leave the choice of the workman to

you. I enclose a measure, and for further direction, I think it not amiss to add, my stature is six feet ; otherwise, rather slender than corpulent."

At this time, the second of October, 1761, he had been suffering from one of the illnesses which were not unfrequent in his early life. He says himself that he fell into a very low and dangerous state :

"I once thought the grim king would certainly master my utmost efforts, and that I must sink in spite of a resolute struggle ; but, thank God, I have now got the better of the disorder and shall soon be restored, I hope, to perfect health again."

These attacks, which are referred to more than once in his early life, were generally attacks of pleurisy. Dr. Craik, his life-long physician and friend, says that they were very severe at that period of his life, but thinks that they left no permanent result on his constitution.

The two little Custis children were growing up, and were favorites of his. This very year of his illness is the year when the following invoice was sent out to London for them. It will be observed that a little girl of four was expected to kick and dance out ten pair of pumps and other shoes as the year went by. Her doll and picture-books are provided for.

Invoice of sundries to be shipped by Robert Carey & Company for the use of Master John and Miss Patty Custis, each to be charged to their own accounts, but both consigned to George Washington, Potomac River :

For MASTER CUSTIS, 6 years old.

1 piece of Irish Holland at 4s.
 2 yards fine Cambric at 10s.
 6 Pocket Handkerchiefs, small and fine.
 2 pairs Gloves ; 2 Laced Hats.
 6 pieces India Nankeen.
 6 pairs fine thread Stockings.
 4 pairs coarser do.
 6 pairs worsted do.
 4 pairs strong Shoes ; 4 pairs Pumps.
 1 summer suit of clothes to be made of something light and thin.
 3 fine Ivory Combs ; 2 Horn do , and 2 Brushes.
 1 piece black Hair Ribbon.
 1 pair handsome silver Shoe and Knee Buckles.
 10s. worth Toys.
 6 little books for children beginning to read.
 1 oz. 8d. Thread ; 1 oz. 12d. do. ; 1 oz. 2s. do. ; 1 oz. 3s. do.
 $\frac{1}{2}$ lb. whited brown Thread.
 1 light duffel Cloak with silver frogs.

For MISS CUSTIS, 4 years old.

8 yards fine printed Linen at 3s. 6d.
 1 piece Irish Holland
 2 ells fine Holland at 10s.
 8 pairs Kid Mits ; 4 pairs Gloves ; 2 pairs silk Shoes.
 4 pairs Calamanco do. , 4 pairs leather Pumps.
 6 pairs fine thread Stockings.
 4 pairs worsted do.
 $\frac{1}{2}$ piece flowered Dimity.
 2 yards fine Cambric at 10s.
 2 Caps, 2 pairs Ruffles, 2 Tuckers, Bibs, and Aprons if fashionable.
 2 Fans ; 2 Masks ; 2 Bonnets.
 2m. large Pins ; 2m. short whites ; 2m. Minikins ; 1 cloth Cloak.
 1 stiffened Coat of fashionable silk, made to pack-thread stays.
 6 yards Ribbon ; 2 Necklaces.
 1 pair silver Sleeve Buttons, with Stones.
 1 fashionable-dressed Baby, 10s., and other Toys, 10s.
 6 Pocket Handkerchiefs.

Four years afterwards he wrote to the same firm the following sharp letter. We copy it in full, because it shows how distinctly he could express himself, when he chose, to people who were neglecting their duty.

“ MOUNT VERNON, 20 September, 1765.

“ GENTLEMEN : It cannot reasonably be imagined that I felt any pleasing sensations upon the receipt of your letter of the 13th of February, covering accounts of sales for one hundred and fifty-three hogsheads of Master Custis’s tobacco, and one hundred and fifteen of mine.

“That the sales are pitifully low needs no words to demonstrate, and that they are worse than many of my acquaintance upon the river Potomac have got in the out-ports, and from Mr. Russell and other merchants of London, for common Aronoke tobacco, is a truth equally as certain. Nay, not so good as I myself have got from Mr. Gildart of Liverpool for light rent tobaccos (shipped to him at the same time I did to you) of the meanest sort, such as you once complained of, as the worst of Maryland, and not salable. Can it be otherwise than a little mortifying, then, to find that we, who raise none but sweet-scented tobacco, and endeavor, I may venture to add, to be careful in the management of it, however we fail in the execution, and who, by a close and fixed correspondence with you, contribute so largely to the despatch of your ships in this country, should meet with such unprofitable returns? Surely I may answer, No. Notwithstanding you will again receive my own crops this year, and sixty-seven hogsheads of Master Custis’s; but, gentlemen, you must excuse me for adding (as I cannot readily conceive that our tobaccos are so much depreciated in quality, as not only to sell much below other marks of good repute, but actually for less, as I before observed, than the commonest kinds do) that justice to myself and ward will render it absolutely necessary for me to change my correspondence, unless I experience an alteration for the better.

“I might take notice upon this occasion also, that my tobacco nets a good deal less than Master Custis’s, and why it should do so, I am really at a loss to discover; his one hundred and fifty-three hogsheads averaging £7 7s. 7d., and my own one hundred and fifteen only £5 17s. 6d. Perhaps it may be urged that some of mine was

Potomac tobacco. I grant it, but take these out, and the Yorks then average £6 6s. 5*d.* only. If you had allowed him the benefit of the bonded duties, I should not have wondered at the difference; but this, I perceive, is not done; and certain I am, my tobacco ought not to have been inferior to his in any respect, the lands being the same, and my directions for making it good equally as express. . . .

“Once, upon my urging a complaint of this nature, you wrote me that the goods ought to be sent back, and they should be returned upon the shopkeeper’s hands in case of imposition, but a moment’s reflection points out the inconveniences of such a measure, unless the imposition be grossly abusive, or we could afford to have a year’s stock beforehand. How otherwise can a person, who imports bare requisites only, submit to lie a year out of any particular article of clothing, or necessary for family use, and have recourse to such a tedious and uncertain way of relief as this, when possibly a tradesman would deny the goods and consequently refuse them? It is not to be done. We are obliged to acquiesce in the present loss, and hope for future redress.

“These, gentlemen, are my sentiments, fully and candidly expressed without design, believe me, of giving you offence; but, as the selling of our tobaccos well, and the purchasing of our goods upon the best terms, are matters of the utmost consequence to our well-doing, it behooves me to be plain and sincere in my declarations on these points, previous to any change of measures, that I may stand acquitted of the imputation of fickleness, if I am at last forced to a discontinuance of my correspondence with your house.”

Washington was never satisfied with the processes

of agriculture that went on around him. His correspondence of this time often alludes to agricultural books which he was importing, and the catalogue of his library shows that he bought and used some of the best agricultural treatises of the day. Even during the Revolution, afterwards, he managed, by some system, to obtain the recent agricultural books from England. We shall have occasion to cite some letters which refer to them. There is a letter to Carey, in which he makes particular inquiry after a stump-puller of which he had heard, as working successfully in Switzerland, and as having been improved in England :

“The chief purport of this letter is to beg the favor of you to make minute inquiries into the trials which have been made by order of the society, and if they have proved satisfactory, to send me one of these engines by the first ship bound for the Potomac River. If they are made of different sizes, I should prefer one of a middle size, capable of raising a tree of fifteen or eighteen inches in diameter. The cost I am a stranger to. Fifteen, twenty, and twenty-five guineas have been mentioned ; but the price, were it double these sums, I should totally disregard, provided the engine is capable of performing what is related of it, and not of that complicated nature which would cause it to be easily disordered and rendered unfit for use, but constructed upon so plain, simple, and durable a plan that the common artificers of this country may be able to repair it if any accidents should happen.”

He maintained the elegant hospitality at Mount

Vernon which has distinguished the name of Virginia, and was in every way liberal in giving it dignity. He had a chariot and four with postilions in livery for the use of Mrs. Washington and her lady visitors. But, unless he rode with her, he always went on horseback. He took care to raise good horses, and was well mounted. The names of many of these horses are preserved. There were Magnolia, and Arab, Ajax, Blueskin, and Valiant. One of his letter-books gives orders for riding equipments on his London agent. Here are some of the details :

1 man's riding-saddle, hogskin seat, large plated stirrups, and everything complete. Double reined bridle and Pelham bit, plated.

A very neat and fashionable Newmarket saddle-cloth.

A large and best portmanteau, saddle, bridle, and pillion.

Cloak-bag, surcingle, checked saddle-cloth, holsters, &c.

A riding-frock of a handsome, drab-colored broadcloth, with plain double-gilt buttons.

A riding waistcoat of superfine scarlet cloth and gold lace, with buttons like those of the coat.

A blue surtout coat.

A neat switch whip, silver cap.

Black velvet cap for servant.

From a much earlier period than this to the last day of his life, he was a very early riser. It is familiarly and generally said that he always rose at four o'clock ; and this statement is probably nearly

true. Early rising seems to be one of the traits which are necessary in a great military commander. Washington was not dependent upon others for his comfort. He lighted his own fire if he needed any, and if it were required, worked by candle-light. He breakfasted at seven in the summer and at eight in winter. His breakfast was two cups of tea, not large, and three or four hoe-cakes of Indian meal. As soon as he had breakfasted, it was his habit to mount his horse and ride over the estate, giving his personal direction to such affairs as were needed. Or, if it were a day for hunting or sport, he joined such guests as he had invited.

The regular dining hour at Mount Vernon was two. Washington ate heartily, but was never critical about his food. He drank, as a beverage at table, small beer or cider, and closed the dinner with one or two glasses of Madeira. In the evening, tea was served, of which he partook, and he went to bed at nine o'clock. These are the hours given as the regular hours at Mount Vernon : and these habits correspond, in most particulars, with the habits of his camp life afterwards, which were very carefully noticed by the different visitors whom he received at the head-quarters.

His collection of books, and other circumstances, show that he never lost the military interest which he had acquired in the French and Indian war. The collection of military books, to which we shall

allude in another place, must have been begun as early, at least, as his regular residence at Mount Vernon. Among the titles are books of no little importance; and it is quite clear that Washington had made a study of these books. In one of the orders given for furniture and other decorations of Mount Vernon, is included his directions for several plaster busts of distinguished generals. He wished to have "one of Alexander the Great; another of Julius Cæsar; another of Charles XII. of Sweden; a fourth of the King of Prussia." This note is added: "These are not to exceed fifteen inches in height, nor ten in width." There were also to be "two other busts, of Prince Eugene and the Duke of Marlborough, somewhat smaller," and "two wild beasts, not to exceed twelve inches in height nor eighteen in length," as well as "sundry small ornaments for chimney-piece."

Like other country gentlemen of his time, he tried his inventive faculty with a new plough, and the diary describes the manufacture:

"March 6th.—Fitted a two-eyed plough, instead of a duck-billed plough, and with much difficulty made my chariot-wheel horses plough. 7th.—Put the pole-end horses into the plough in the morning, and put in the postillion and hind horse in the afternoon, but the ground being well swarded over, and very heavy ploughing, I repented putting them in at all, for fear it should give them a habit of stopping in the chariot."

The diaries have frequent allusions to success or failure in hunting. Washington delighted in the chase. Even in going to watch the work in parts of the estate where he supposed a fox might be started, he would take the dogs with him. He was always a bold rider and a good horseman. It is recollected that, at the battle of Princeton, when he saw an English regiment give way, he turned to his staff and said, "An old-fashioned Virginia fox-hunt, gentlemen." At the time we are describing, in the height of the season, he would be out with the fox-hounds two or three times a week, and especially when Lord Fairfax came to visit his relatives at Belvoir, hunting was kept up with spirit. The diary has many such passages as these.

"November 25th.—Mr. Bryan Fairfax, Mr. Corson, and Phil Alexander came here by sunrise. Hunted and caught a fox with these. Lord Fairfax, his brother, and Colonel Fairfax, all of whom, with Mr. Fairfax and Mr. Wilson, of England, dined here.

"Nov. 26th and Nov. 29th.—Hunted again with the same company."

On the other hand, Washington occasionally visited Winchester, and was Lord Fairfax's guest at Greenway Court. Lord Fairfax kept hounds there, and Washington frequently joined in the recreation, as at home.

There is a series of notes in one of the diaries, describing the continued festivities, day after day,

when the British frigate *Boston* arrived in the river just in front of Belvoir. Sir Thomas Adams was the commander. The officers were made at home in Mount Vernon and at Belvoir. Breakfast parties and dinner parties varied the ordinary life, and on board the frigate there were occasional tea parties. Washington, the Fairfaxes, and the other rich planters on the Potomac had beautiful barges, which had been built for them in England, and these barges were manned by negroes in uniform, with the neatness and precision of the navy or of our best modern boatmen.

Canvas-back ducks were then abundant on the Potomac, and the shooting of them comes in among the other annual sports. A story is told of a vagabond, who, in his piratical canoe, ran into one and another inlet, and was warned off ineffectually. Washington himself, one day in riding, heard the report of the poacher's gun, dashed in that direction, and caught the man in person. He raised his gun; but Washington rode into the stream himself, seized the rope which drew the boat, dragged it to shore, and then, pulling the gun from the man's hands, gave him a practical lesson with his own whip, which is said to have cured him from after trespasses.

They were not far from Annapolis, and he and Mrs. Washington would visit that capital when the Legislature was in session, meeting an elegant,

though not very large society. There were dinners and balls during the session, and occasional efforts at theatricals. Washington was always fond of the theatre ; but in his day he had few opportunities for gratifying this taste. He danced at balls, and though the tradition is that he was a ceremonious and grave partner, that tradition probably belongs rather to a later period than to these days of his early marriage. Among the articles imported for his wife and her daughter masks are mentioned.

He engaged himself, with other men of enterprise in his neighborhood, in a plan to drain the great Dismal Swamp in Southern Virginia. He explored it personally, both on horseback, as far as that was possible, and on foot where he could not press his horse. At the next session of the Virginia Legislature, the company, in behalf of which he had visited it, was chartered under the name of the "Dismal Swamp Company." With the work of that company the operations which have gone forward from time to time to improve that region practically began.

From the moment of the passage of the Stamp Act, in 1765, public affairs occupied a large part of his time and attention. It will be more convenient to the readers that we shall review these together in the next chapter, without attempting to hold strictly here to the order of time. The work of the farm goes on, and the draining of the great swamp,

and other matters of private and of general duty, in the midst of political anxiety. He never loses sight of the great valleys of the West. The correspondence often refers to hopes for introducing emigrants to that region direct from Europe.

In the autumn of 1770 Washington made a long tour to the valley of the Ohio with his old traveling companion, Dr. Craik. His diary is fuller than usual for the nine weeks of this journey, and it is by far the best account we have of that country in those days. The party consisted of Washington, Craik, William Crawford, a woodsman, and, for a part of the way, Colonel Croghan, a person of much experience in Indian affairs. On one occasion he was greeted with much ceremony by a party of Indians. Of this occasion he gives the following account :

19th.—Received a message from Colonel Croghan, that the White Mingo and other chiefs of the Six Nations had something to say to me, and desiring that I would be at his house about eleven, where they were to meet. I went up and received a speech, with a string of wampum, from the White Mingo, to the following effect :

“ That, as I was a person whom some of them remember to have seen, when I was sent on an embassy to the French, and most of them had heard of, they were come to bid me welcome to this country, and to desire that the people of Virginia would consider them as friends and brothers, linked together in one chain ; that I would inform the governor that it was their wish to live in peace

and harmony with the white people, and that though there had been some unhappy differences between them and the people upon our frontiers, they were all made up, and they hoped forgotten; and concluded with saying that their brothers of Virginia did not come among them and trade as the inhabitants of the other provinces did, from whence they were afraid that we did not look upon them with so friendly an eye as they could wish."

To this I answered, after thanking them for their friendly welcome, "that all the injuries and affronts that had passed on either side were now totally forgotten, and that I was sure nothing was more wished and desired by the people of Virginia, than to live in the strictest friendship with them; that the Virginians were a people not so much engaged in trade as the Pennsylvanians, which was the reason of their not being so frequently among them; but that it was possible they might, for the time to come, have stricter connexions with them; and that I would acquaint the government with their desires."

After dining at Colonel Croghan's we returned to Pittsburg, Colonel Croghan with us, who intended to accompany us part of the way down the river, having engaged an Indian called the Pheasant, and one Joseph Nicholson, an interpreter, to attend us the whole voyage; also a young Indian warrior.

20th. We embarked in a large canoe, with sufficient stores of provisions and necessaries, and the following persons, besides Dr. Craik and myself, to wit: Captain Crawford, Joseph Nicholson, Robert Bell, William Harrison, Charles Morgan, and Daniel Rendon, a boy of Captain Crawford's, and the Indians, who were in a canoe by themselves. From Fort Pitt we sent our horses and boys back to Captain Crawford's, with orders to meet us there

again on the 14th day of November. Colonel Croghan, Lieutenant Hamilton, and Mr. Magee set out with us. At two we dined at Mr. Magee's, and encamped ten miles below, and four above Logstown. We passed several large islands, which appeared to be very good, as the bottoms also did on each side of the river alternately; the hills on one side being opposite to the bottoms on the other, which seem generally to be about three or four hundred yards wide, and so *vice versa*.

21st. Left our encampment about six o'clock and breakfasted at Logstown, where we parted with Colonel Croghan and company about nine o'clock. At eleven we came to the mouth of the Big Beaver Creek, opposite to which is a good situation for a house, and above it, on the same side, that is the west, there appears to be a body of fine land. About five miles lower down, on the east side, comes in Raccoon Creek, at the mouth of which, and up it, appears to be a body of good land also.

In 1771 he was obliged to occupy himself with the details of the education of his step-son, John Parke Custis, whom we saw last with his picture books, beginning to read. He was now old enough to leave home for his studies. He had been placed under the charge of the Rev. Jonathan Bouchier, an Episcopal clergyman residing in Annapolis. When the boy was sixteen years old he was sent to Annapolis, that he might study with this gentleman. Between them they made a plan for John Custis's travelling in Europe with Mr. Bouchier, which would probably have been agreeable enough to both of them. It appears that, in the family council, the friends of

young Custis were divided in opinion "as to the propriety of his travelling, not because they thought advantages would not result from it, but on account of the expense, as he would commence his tour with the heavy charge which you thought requisite to induce you to accompany him, and which would at once anticipate half his income." This is what Washington says quietly in his letter to the clergyman, written on the 9th of July, 1771. He goes on to say : " His estate is of that kind which rather comes under the denomination of a large than a profitable one. This divided opinion was a sufficient cause, as I observed in my last, for me to be circumspect in my conduct." In the same letter Washington gives his own views as to travel and education.

" My own inclinations are still as strong as ever for Mr. Custis's pursuing his travelling scheme, provided the court should approve of the expense, and provided also that it should appear, when his judgment was a little more matured, that he was desirous of undertaking this tour upon a plan of improvement rather than a vague desire of gratifying an idle curiosity or spending his money. Not that I think his becoming a mere scholar is a desirable education for a gentleman, but I can say the knowledge of books is the basis upon which other knowledge is to be built, and in travelling he is to become acquainted with men and things, rather than books. . . . At present, however well versed he may be in the principles of the Latin language (which is not to be wondered

at, as he began the study of it as soon as he could speak), he is unacquainted with several of the classical authors that might be useful to him. He is ignorant of Greek, the divine advantages of learning which I do not pretend to judge, and he knows nothing of French, which is absolutely necessary to him as a traveller. He has little or no acquaintance with arithmetic, and is badly ignorant of the mathematics, than which, at least, so much of them as relates to surveying, nothing can be more essentially necessary to any man possessed of a large landed estate, the bounds of some part or other of which are always in controversy."

It would seem, from this, that the young gentleman had spent his sixteen years more actively in following the hounds and in shooting canvas-back ducks, than in prosecuting any special line of scholarship.

The boy's sister, Martha, who seems to have been an interesting and lovely child, died at Mount Vernon on the 19th of June, 1773. Washington had been absent at Williamsburg for some time, and found her in the last days of her life on his return. He had made an engagement to go to the western country with Lord Dunmore, but her death caused him to remain at home. The pictures of this lady, still existing, show that she was truly beautiful. Her complexion was so dark a brunette that she was always called "the dark lady." She left all her large fortune to Washington, who had been, indeed, the only father whom she remembered.

Just before her death, Master John Custis, her brother, had settled all questions about his travels and education, by engaging himself to Miss Eleanor Calvert, of Mount Airy, in Maryland. It was agreed by all parties that he should be sent to King's College, in New York, for two years before marriage ; but, in fact, he remained there only a few months, and on the third of February, 1774, they were married. He was then nineteen years old and Miss Calvert was sixteen. He was the father of the George Washington Parke Custis who died in 1857, and who always observed jealously and faithfully the reminiscences of Mount Vernon and its great master. When the boy went to college, Washington went to New York with him, introduced him to Dr. Cooper, the president of the college, and established him there. This was in May, 1773.

Such were some of the domestic affairs which occupied Washington in what may well be looked back upon as one of the happiest periods of his life. From the time of his marriage till he left his wife to attend the Continental Congress in Philadelphia, nearly sixteen years passed, devoted to such pursuits. Of the public or political life of those years, we must attempt to give some account in another chapter



CHAPTER VII.

TROUBLE WITH ENGLAND.

The Court Party—The Stamp Act—Circular-Letter of the Massachusetts House of Representatives—George III.—Letter to George Mason—Non-Importation—Tea Taxes—"The Virginia Patriot"—The Boston Port-Bill—Extracts from Washington's Diary—The Fairfax Convention and Resolutions Adopted There—Opening of Congress—Public Speaking—Patrick Henry's Opinion—"A Kitchen Cabinet"—George III. Again—Joseph Warren—Washington's Diary at the Time of the Opening of Congress—Resolution on Acts of Parliament—The Second Virginia Convention and the Second Congress—Washington Appointed Commander-in-Chief.

THERE were only a few years after Wolfe's success in Canada before the folly of George III., who was beginning his reign with his miserable hopes of imitating the kings of France, brought anxiety into the home of every man in America, who was in any sort a leader.

The "court party" of men who flattered the young king led him to his real ruin.

"Men that in a narrower day,
Unprophetic rulers they,
Drove out from the mother's nest
The young eagle of the West."

The Stamp Act and the host of troubles which

followed it gave material enough for thought and correspondence, even to men who, like Washington, had, but a year or two before, said that there was no public business of importance. While far-sighted statesmen in Europe had expected some such breach as followed between the colonies and the home government, it is clear enough that, on the colonies themselves, the Stamp Act and the policy to which it belonged were like flashes of lightning in a clear sky. The outburst of opposition was as quick in Virginia as anywhere. In 1765, in May, Washington was in his seat in the House of Burgesses, to which he was regularly chosen for fifteen years from Fairfax County, when a discussion arose, which has been famous ever since in America, on a series of resolutions protesting against the Stamp Act and the principle on which it was founded. Washington felt the seriousness of the crisis. He wrote immediately to his correspondent, Dandridge, the uncle of his wife, who was then in London, the danger of such an unconstitutional and ill-judged measure.

“As to the Stamp Act, regarded in a single view, one of the first bad consequences attending it is, that our Courts of Judicature must inevitably be shut up. For it is impossible, or next to impossible, under our present circumstances, that the act of Parliament can be complied with, were we ever so willing to enforce its execution, and not to say, which alone would be sufficient, that we have not money enough to pay for the stamps, there are many other cogent reasons which prove that it would be ineffectual.”

He did not, however, take any part in the more popular agitation by which public assemblies condemned the Stamp Act and terrified the men who were to carry it into execution. Still, it was understood by his neighbors and friends that he looked with entire disapproval, on the plans of the government. On the other hand, his neighbors, the Fairfaxes, were watching the popular drift with uneasiness. For a moment this strain of great suspense was loosened when the Stamp Act was repealed, on the eighteenth of March, 1766. But the second tax act, which we recollect as the "Tea tax," following at once, the public excitement was renewed. The landing of troops in Boston showed what was the determination of the government; and from this time forward, with occasional lulls of hope, and promises of peace, the preparation for war was really beginning. No one was more conscious of this than Washington. Writing to Capel Hanbury in London, as late as 1767, he goes back to the repeal of the Stamp Act, and then says :

"I could wish it were in my power to congratulate you on the success of having a commercial system of these colonies put upon a more enlarged and extensive footing than it is, because I am well satisfied that it would ultimately redound to the advantage of the mother country, so long as the colonies pursue trade and agriculture, and would be an effectual let to manufacture among them. The money which they raise would centre in Great Britain as certainly as the needle would settle to the pole."

Nothing, indeed, is more pathetic than the account of the joy with which the news of the repeal of the Stamp Act was received. In Virginia, for instance, the House of Burgesses voted to erect a statue to George III., by way of expressing their high sense of his attention to the rights and petitions of his people. Conway, the English secretary, however, did his worst to prevent the benefit of the repeal, by sending a circular-letter in which he extolled the moderation, the forbearance, the unexampled lenity and tenderness of Parliament towards the colonies.

But before the year 1768 it was clear enough to everybody that the claim to tax America was revived. The Massachusetts House of Representatives, after stating to the king in a petition their sense of the taxation, addressed a circular-letter to the other colonies. It was extremely well received, and the various colonies joined Massachusetts in similar petitions to the king, and in vigorous instructions to their agents. Virginia transmitted to her sister colonies a statement of her proceedings. In a letter to Massachusetts her committee says that her measures do not affect the independency of the parent kingdom, but that this independency does not imply its right to raise money from the colonies without their consent. "No power on earth has a right to impose taxes on the people without their consent given by their representatives

in parliament. This has always been considered as the chief pillar of the Constitution."

All such representations, public or private, were received by George III. with indignation, and his ministry and Parliament expressed his indignation. In Virginia Lord Botetourt had recently been appointed governor. He was a gentleman of conciliating manners and address. The home government sent to him the votes of Parliament requiring that the governor of Massachusetts should furnish the names of all persons who had committed treason, with a view to their trial. The members of Assembly had received the parliamentary votes already, from their agents in London and public sources. It is in this juncture that Washington writes the letter to George Mason, which contains the following passages :

"At a time when our lordly masters in Great Britain will be satisfied with nothing less than the deprivation of American freedom, it seems highly necessary that something should be done to avert the stroke and maintain the liberty which we have derived from our ancestors. But the manner of doing it to answer the purpose effectually, is the point in question. That no man should scruple, or hesitate a moment *to use arms* in defence of so valuable a blessing, is clearly my opinion. Yet arms, I would beg leave to add, should be the last resource, the *dernier ressort*."

In what follows, he expresses approval of the

non-importation plan of the northern colonies, "which must be attended with salutary effects, provided it can be carried pretty generally into execution." Again he says :

"I have always thought that, by virtue of the same power which assumes the right of taxation, the Parliament may attempt, at least, to restrain our manufactures, especially those of a public nature, the same equity and justice prevailing in the one case as the other ; it being no greater hardship to forbid my manufacturing, than it is to order me to buy goods loaded with duties, for the express purpose of raising a revenue. That as a measure of this sort would be an additional exercise of arbitrary power, we cannot be placed in a worse condition, I think, by putting it to the test."

This letter closes by saying : "On the whole, I think the scheme a good one, and that it ought to be tried here, with such alterations as our circumstances render absolutely necessary."

The letter contains a statement worthy of mention, as to the pecuniary distress under which Virginia was suffering. Many families were reduced to penury, and estates were sold every day for the discharge of debt.

The date of this letter is April 5, 1769. Mason concurred in the plan which Washington suggests in it, of a non-importation agreement. He drew such a plan, which they took to the meeting of the Assembly in May. This body at once passed firm resolutions protesting against the transportation of

citizens of any colony for trial, and maintaining the exclusive right of the Assembly to impose taxes. The governor at once appeared in the capitol. "Mr. Speaker," he said, "I have heard of your resolves, and I augur ill of their effects; you have made it my duty to dissolve you, and you are dissolved accordingly."

This was in accordance with general orders from London—that all obstinate assemblies should be dissolved at once. The Virginian members at once met in a private house. Washington brought forward the agreement which Mason had proposed. It was unanimously adopted. Each member signed it, and it was printed and circulated for the signatures of the people.

The reader knows, from the invoices which we have copied, how various were the articles for which Virginia depended upon England. The non-importation agreement did not include all these, but left permission for the reception of articles of prime necessity. In Washington's correspondence afterwards, he always directs that none of the prohibited articles shall be forwarded to him, unless the obnoxious taxes have been repealed.

Changes of what were called parties in England, which really amounted to little more than changes in the persons of the landed aristocracy which then governed England, led to a remission of all the obnoxious duties except that on tea, which was kept

“for the principle,” as was said. Really it was kept at the wish of the East India Company, and England owed the loss of an empire to her subserviency to a great corporation. Lord Hillsborough, in June, 1769, announced the remission of taxes to the colonies. His letter arrived in Virginia in July, when the Assembly was again in session. Lord Botetourt sent the message to the Assembly. “I shall exert every power in order to obtain and maintain for the continent of America, that satisfaction which I have been authorized to promise this day, by the confidential servants of our gracious sovereign, who, to my certain knowledge, rates his honour so high that he would rather part with his crown than preserve it into deceit.” Poor George III., to have a provincial governor vouching, in fustian, for his honor !

New York broke the non-importation agreement. That city, voting by wards, determined to renew the importation of every thing except teas. The other commercial colonies were forced to give way, as most of their merchants, perhaps, would have gladly done before. The New York merchants complained that Albany received goods from Quebec, and that the agreement had not been enforced in the other colonies ; and these charges were probably true.

It must be remembered that at this time Washington's position is that of the richest planter in Vir-

ginia,—the man most widely known in that colony. A contemporary authority says that he was the richest man in America, and that statement has never to our knowledge been contradicted. Such a man, with every personal reason for cultivating friendly relations with the royal governors, and the people who sent them, appears, on the other hand, always as a popular leader against the folly of the Crown. He is publicly known as “The Virginia Patriot.”

By the time 1774 was well advanced, public matters engaged universal attention. A leader like Washington could attend to little but the public necessities. Lord Botetourt had died. Lord Dunmore was his successor. In December, 1773, the tea was thrown over in Boston harbor. The Boston Port-Bill was passed by Parliament in retaliation. It was to take effect on the 1st of June, 1774. When the House of Burgesses met, they set apart that day “as a day of fasting, humiliation, and prayer, to implore the divine interposition for averting the heavy calamity which threatened destruction to their civil rights, and the evils of civil war.”

The governor, on this, dissolved the House the next morning.

The delegates replied by meeting at the “Rawley Tavern,” and forming an association. They advised their Committee of Correspondence to suggest a general congress of all the colonies. Washington’s

diary throws some side-lights on the passage of these events. The preservation of personal relations with the governor in this or that dinner party,—and, on the other hand, the day of fasting and the fire-works, are a good illustration of the daily contrasts of life, as the struggle began.

May 16th.—Came to Williamsburg. Dined at the Governor's, and spent the evening at Mrs. Campbell's.

25th.—Dined and spent the evening at the Governor's.

26th.—Rode out with the Governor to his farm, and breakfasted with him there.

27th.—Dined at the Treasurer's, and went to the ball given by the House of Burgesses to Lady Dunmore.

June 1st., Wednesday.—Went to church, and fasted all day.

10th.—Dined at the Raleigh, and went to the fire-works.

16th.—Dined at the Governor's, and spent the evening at Anderson's.

20th.—Set off on my return home.

The delegates, before they parted, called a convention to meet at Williamsburg in August. It was at a county convention at Fairfax, at which, Washington himself presided, called to prepare for the general convention, that a series of resolves, twenty-five in number, were passed, which made a thorough and radical statement of the whole difficulty with the Crown. To us the resolves have a special interest, because Washington had so large a hand in them. They had at the time a wide circulation in America and in England. “The King's

ministers," says Mr. Bancroft, "were startled by their significance."

It is now interesting to see that the people of Fairfax County, with only one dissentient voice, declared their "most earnest wishes to see an entire stop for ever put to such a wicked, cruel, and unnatural trade as that in African slaves."

The convention responded to this appeal by voting that, after the first day of November, the members should neither import slaves, nor purchase those who had been imported.

In the contribution for the relief of the working-men of Boston—thrown out of employment by the Stamp Act,—Washington headed the paper with a subscription of fifty pounds. In the general convention—for which the Fairfax meeting prepared the way—he expressed the wish to "raise one thousand men, subsist them at his own expense, and march at their head for the relief of Boston."

The Fairfax resolutions may be judged from the two last.

23. "*Resolved*, That it be recommended to the deputies of the general Congress to draw up and transmit an humble and dutiful petition and remonstrance to his Majesty, asserting with decent firmness our just and constitutional rights and privileges, lamenting the fatal necessity of being compelled to enter into measures displeasing to his Majesty and his Parliament, or injurious to our fellow-subjects in Great Britain, declaring, in the strongest terms, our duty and affection to his Majesty's

person, family, and government, and our desire to continue our dependence upon Great Britain, and most humbly conjuring and beseeching his Majesty not to reduce his faithful subjects of America to a state of desperation, and to reflect that from our sovereign there can be but one appeal. And it is the opinion of this meeting that after such petition and remonstrance shall have been presented to his Majesty, the same should be printed in all the public papers in all the principal towns in Great Britain.

24. "*Resolved*, That George Washington and Charles Broadwater, lately elected our representatives to serve in the General Assembly, be appointed to attend the convention at Williamsburg on the first day of August next, to present these resolves, as the sense of the people of this country, upon the measures proper to be taken in the present alarming and dangerous situation of America."

It was a matter of course that, when the Congress met, which Virginia had suggested, Washington should be appointed one of her delegates. Few men in the colonies had had such training for that position as he.

This Congress was chosen, undoubtedly, simply with the view of making the strongest protest possible against the oppressions of England. It and each of its several successors proved to be, what no one then expected, the executive in the war which followed. But when Washington with his friends, left their Virginian homes to go to Philadelphia, they went with much the same impressions with

which to-day a delegate goes to a national convention, which is to nominate a President or to confer together about some matters of philanthropy or of business.

So soon as he arrived in Philadelphia he was, as is clear enough, a person distinguished among the more distinguished members. The body was a strong one, stronger, perhaps it may be said, than the Continental Congress ever was, after the war had fairly begun. In the enthusiasm of the moment, and in the eagerness to make the best statement possible of their wrongs, the people of different colonies had sent the very best men among those who had enlisted on the popular side, and the very best men had been willing to go. Among these men, Washington, rich, dignified in appearance, of good repute from the service which he had rendered in war, and representing the largest of the colonies, was generally observed. The passages, which we will cite at the end of this chapter, from his diary, show how many invitations he received from the people of Philadelphia, and how often his opinion was asked for.

It is well known that he did not frequently speak in public assemblies. He left it as his mature advice, in a rather striking passage, to people who would obtain the lead of such assemblies, that it is not well to speak often, and that one should speak only on important subjects on which he has care-

fully prepared himself. But he was not adverse to speaking, as has been sometimes supposed; and when he spoke he spoke with decision and with effect. There is an early and important notice to this point from so high an authority as Patrick Henry, who was one of his fellow-members in this Congress. When Henry returned to his home in October, 1774, he was asked whom he thought the greatest man in Congress. He replied :

“ If you speak of eloquence, Mr. Rutledge, of South Carolina, is by far the greatest orator; but if you speak of solid information and sound judgment, Colonel Washington is unquestionably the greatest man on that floor.”

It is true that this testimony of Henry's appears in his life, written many years afterward. But it should not be forgotten, in estimating its truth, that at an after period of his life Henry might not have given the same impression with regard to Washington, nor have had it himself; and the very change of his opinion makes it probable that we have, in this citation, his real thought at the time of the first meeting of the great Continental Congress.

The principal work of this Congress was the preparation of the petition to the king. From this petition a great deal was expected; much more than it is easy now to believe. But the impression had been assiduously cultivated through the colonies that George III. was one of the best of princes

and one of the greatest of men. It was really supposed, and supposed by men of intelligence, that he had been hoodwinked and kept in the dark in all of the measures by which the colonies were oppressed; and that these were simply the measures of a "ministry" which had been thrown accidentally into office, and which would be easily displaced. The wits of the time were forever ridiculing the Scotch influence in the ministry, and seem to have supposed that so soon as England asserted herself all of them would be turned out, as if they were what our later politics have called "A Kitchen Cabinet." Lord Bute had a little earlier been the special object of popular indignation, as Lord North was now. It was the fashion of the time, therefore, to speak of the king somewhat as, a few years after, it was the fashion in France to speak of Louis XVI., as an amiable, intelligent, and vigorous young prince, who only wished to have right done, and who, by the misfortune of the moment, was powerless in the hands of those who should have been his advisers. Long after this time, indeed, the conviction was maintained that the Americans were fighting against the "ministerial army" and the "ministerial navy," while they were loyal to him whom they had not yet ceased to call "the best of kings."

We know now that the most unscrupulous and the most short-sighted of all the persons in the

English government, who advised the measures which led to the independence of America, was George III. himself. The modern expression which has called him a "Brummagem Louis XIV.," expresses tolerably well the attitude of the man, and the dreams which were misleading him to his ruin. So far from his being hoodwinked by his ministers, he was compelling them to acts of which they themselves saw, in part, at least, the folly. Indeed it would not be difficult for an essayist to make out poor Lord North as a victim of his loyalty to his sovereign. This is certain, that Lord North already had reason to know of the aberration of mind under which George III. eventually broke down. Among the difficulties of his administration, even at this early period, was the necessity of his preserving the terrible state secret that it was probable the king might be crazy.

Of all this, literally nobody in this Continental Congress knew any thing. Samuel Adams himself would not have dared to speak of the king with contempt. As late as the 5th of March, 1775, Joseph Warren, who was to die so soon after at Bunker Hill, even in the Old South Meeting-House, Boston, the nursery of rebellion, speaks with perfect loyalty of the king and of the prospect of "a Brunswick bringing in liberty." And thus it was that a sort of sentimental feeling had been brought about in the colonies, by which even sensi-

ble people persuaded themselves that if a petition was presented with great dignity "at the foot of the throne," as one of the phrases was, to the king himself, all would be well.

To the Congress which was to prepare this petition, and to state definitely the rights and wrongs of United America, Washington repaired as September began. The following passages from his diary give some details of his life as its session went forward. Mr. Pendleton and Patrick Henry spent a night with him at Mount Vernon on their way to Philadelphia, and they all set off together for that place on the 31st of August.

September 4th. Breakfasted at Christiana Ferry; dined at Chester; and lodged at Dr. Shippen's in Philadelphia, after supping at the New Tavern.

5th. Breakfasted and dined at Dr. Shippen's. Spent the evening at the Tavern.

6th. Dined at the New Tavern, after being in Congress all day.

7th. Dined at Mr. Pleasant's, and spent the evening with a club at the New Tavern.

8th. Dined at Mr. Andrew Allen's, and spent the evening at my own lodgings.

9th. Dined at Mr. Tilghman's, and spent the evening at home.

10th. Dined at Mr. Richard Penn's.

11th. At Mr. Griffin's.

12th. At Mr. James Allen's.

13th. At Mr. Thomas Mifflin's.

14th. Rode over the Province Island, and dined at Mr. William Hamilton's.

15th. Dined at my lodgings.

16th. Dined at the Stone House, at an entertainment given by the city to the members of Congress.

17th. Dined at Mr. Dickinson's, about two miles from town.

18th. Dined at Mr. Hill's, about six miles from town.

19th. Rode out in the morning, and dined at Mr. Ross'.

20th. Dined with Mr. Fisher, the mayor.

21st. With Mr. James Mease.

22d. With Mr. Chew, Chief-Justice.

23d. With Mr. Joseph Pemberton.

24th. With Mr. Thomas Willing, and spent the evening at the City Tavern.

25th. Went to the Quaker meeting in the forenoon, and to St. Peter's in the afternoon; dined at my lodgings.

26th. Dined at old Dr. Shippen's, and went to the hospital.

27th. Dined at the Tavern with the Virginia gentlemen.

28th. Dined at Mr. Edward Shippen's; spent the afternoon with the Boston gentlemen.

29th. Dined with Mr. Allen and went to the ball in the afternoon.

30th. Dined at Dr. Cadwallader's.

October 1st. At the Congress till three o'clock; dined with Mr. Hamilton at Bush Hill.

2d. Went to Christ Church, and dined at the New Tavern.

3d. At Congress till three o'clock; dined at young Dr. Shippen's.

- 5th. At Congress as above ; dined at Dr. Bond's.
- 6th. At Congress ; dined at Mr. Samuel Meredith's.
- 7th. At Congress ; dined at Mr. Thomas Smith's.
- 8th. At Mr. John Cadwallader's.
- 9th. Went to the Presbyterian meeting in the forenoon, and the Romish church in the afternoon ; dined at Bevans's.
- 10th. At Congress ; dined at Mr. Morgan's.
- 11th. Dined at my lodgings, and spent the evening at Bevans's.
- 12th. At Congress all the forenoon ; dined at Mr. Thomas Wharton's, and went to the Governor's club.
- 13th. At Congress till four o'clock ; dined at my lodgings.
- 14th. Dined at Mr. Thomas Barclay's, and spent the evening at Smith's.
- 15th. Dined at Bevans', and spent the evening at home.
- 16th. Went to Christ Church in the morning, after which rode to and dined at the Province Island ; supped at Byrns's.
- 17th. After Congress dined on board with Captain Hamilton ; evening at Mr. Mifflin's.
- 18th. Dined at Dr. Rush's, and spent the evening at the New Tavern.
- 19th. Dined at Mr. Willing's ; evening at my own lodgings.
- 20th. Dined at the New Tavern with the Pennsylvania Assembly ; went to the ball afterwards.
- 21st. Dined and spent the evening at my lodgings.
- 22d. Dined at Mr. Griffin's, and drank tea with Mr. Roberdeau.
- 23d. Dined at my lodgings, and spent the evening there.

24th. Dined with Mr. Mease; evening at the New Tavern.

25th. Dined at my lodgings.

26th. Dined at Bevans's, and spent the evening at the New Tavern.

27th. Set out on my return home; dined at Chester and lodged at New Castle.

It will be seen from the diary that Washington gave his unremitted attendance during the sittings of Congress. It was his custom in order thoroughly to understand every important measure in which he engaged, to examine its grounds, and study and weigh its details. There is now among his papers a copy of the petition to the king, sent out by this Congress, carefully and handsomely written with his own hand. This shows one of his habits through life. When he wished to possess himself perfectly of the contents of any paper, he would copy it in a fair hand, and apparently with deliberation, that no point might escape his notice, or fail of making its due impression. Another habit akin to this was to condense documents and papers by writing down their substance in a few words, and always in a distinct and clear method. Many papers of both these kinds have been preserved, particularly on political subjects after the revolution, to which we shall have occasion to recur hereafter.

In this first Congress a resolution was passed ex-

pressing the feelings of the members with regard to the acts of Parliament. A committee from all the provinces reported a declaration of colonial rights. Congress recommended a new non-importation agreement, and resolved to prepare an address to the people of Great Britain, a memorial to the inhabitants of British America, and an address to the king. It is on the work of this Congress that Chatham passed the high eulogium which is so often cited.

The Congress sat nearly two months, and he then returned to Mount Vernon.

But its work was not over, nor his. In the month of March, 1775, the second Virginia convention was held at Richmond, and Washington was a member. John Augustine Washington, his brother, was disciplining an independent company. Washington offered to accept the command of it, should occasion require it to be drawn out. He did the same when an independent company at Richmond offered him its command. He is reported to have said that he would arm and equip a thousand men at his own expense, and march with them to Boston. He wrote to his brother "I will devote my life and fortune to the cause."

He was to be tested more quickly than men generally imagined. The second Congress met in Philadelphia on the tenth of May. Washington was again in attendance. And it was by this Con-

gress that he was commissioned to the command of the American army. As early as the 29th of May, John Adams writes :

“ Col. Washington appears at Congress in his uniform, and by his experience and abilities, is of much service to us.

“ Mr. Mifflin is a major. He ought to have been a general, for he has been the animating soul of the whole.”

The day of Lexington and Concord had come, and it was evident that petitions and statements of rights were not enough. An army existed, an army was to be directed by this Congress. And Congress did not hesitate longer to take the initiative, and in accepting the army as a continental army, it appointed its general officers. Of these officers, as the world knows, Washington was the first. On the fifteenth of June he was appointed commander-in-chief. The election was by ballot and was unanimous.





George Washington



CHAPTER VIII.

APPOINTMENT AS GENERAL.

Appointment as General—John Adams's View of It—Appointments of Other Officers—Arrival at Cambridge—General Artemas Ward—Assumption of Command—Washington's War Policy—Condition of the Army and Supplies—Arnold's Expedition up the Kennebec—Washington's Letter Giving His Plan for It—War on the Seas—Instructions to John Glover and D. Moylan—Instructions to Winthrop Sargent Concerning Prizes, Harbors, etc.—Mrs. Washington's Visit to Camp at Cambridge—Capture of the *Nancy* by Marblehead Cruiser—Plan for Attack on Boston—Fortification of Dorchester Heights—Withdrawal of British from Boston—Note to General Ward—"Washington Street"—Head-Quarters in Boston—Fondness for Children—Transfer of Army to New York—First American Medal—Canadian Contingent—His Aides—Message from Admiral Lord Howe—Letter to "George Washington, Esq."—English Fleet—Crown Point and Ticonderoga—Plan for a Capture—Arrival of British Army at New York—Defeat at Brooklyn—Retreat to the City and to White Plains—Loss of Forts Lee and Washington—Mrs. Philipse—Retreat through Jersey—Battle of Trenton—Success at Princeton—Winter Quarters.

POLITICAL reasons united with personal in the decisive act of the Continental Congress by which Washington was appointed to be general in command. It may be doubted whether, when he and his Virginia friends rode to Philadelphia together, either of them had any idea of such a possibility. But as events rushed with the crisis of

blood, as it was more and more evident that the issue was to be decided, not by petitions or discussions, but by the arbitration of armies, it was necessary that America should have an army worthy of that name. The colony of Massachusetts Bay was without a government. Its leaders, with a sagacity which was unrivalled, knew well that in the institution of the new government they should connect themselves as closely as they could with other parts of the nation, which men did not yet dare call by that name. In a formal letter to the Continental Congress they said :

“We hope that you will favor us with your most explicit advice respecting the taking up and exercising the powers of civil government, which we think absolutely necessary for the salvation of our country.”

At the same time, in private letters, the men who had the control of affairs in the province which was already in rebellion wrote to beg that the Continental Congress would take command of the army which had gathered around Boston, by appointing the generalissimo. Joseph Warren, so soon to be killed at Bunker Hill, Warren of Plymouth, and Elbridge Gerry, all wrote in the same vein ; and from their distant home they had agreed that Washington, so favorably known to the country in the old war, and now as the “Virginia Patriot,” was the man who should be designated for this post.

It was clear enough that if this were a New England army, with a New England commander, the interest of the nation in it would be much less, than if it were an army composed of men from every colony, and were under the command of some one who was not himself a New Englander. These great leaders were perfectly satisfied if they had a southern man with thorough principles. In this instance, also, there was every personal reason to join with that of political wisdom, in the appointment of Washington. Washington had succeeded. He had been in absolute command. He was a member of the Congress. He was known as the Virginia patriot. For these reasons the Massachusetts men at home, not without prompting, perhaps, from those who had observed Washington in Philadelphia, wrote to Philadelphia letters, which were freely read in the Congress itself, to urge his appointment to the command.

“On the earliest occasion,” says Mr. Bancroft, “John Adams explained to the Congress the position and character of the New England army; its merits and its wants, the necessity of its being adopted by the colonies, and the consequent propriety that Congress should name its general. Then, speaking for his constituents, he pointed at Washington as the man above all others fitted for that station, and best able to promote union. Samuel Adams, of Massachusetts, seconded his colleague. The delegates from Virginia, especially Pendleton, Washington’s personal friend, disclaimed any wish that the officer whom

Massachusetts had advanced, Artemas Ward, should be superseded by a Virginian."

Washington himself had never aspired to the honor, though he had now seen, for some time, that he might not be able to avoid the appointment. When the proposal was made by Adams, the choice was delayed because the members from New York wished to consult their immediate constituents on the nominations to be made from that colony. But on the 15th day of June, two days before the battle of Bunker Hill, which proved to be the decisive battle of the war, Congress voted to appoint a general. At this time Johnson, of Maryland, nominated George Washington, and he was elected by ballot unanimously.

In the announcement of this election on the same day to his wife, in that interesting personal correspondence, which gives us so much of our best material for history, John Adams said :

" The Congress have made choice of the modest and virtuous, the amiable, generous, and brave George Washington, Esquire, to be the general of the American army, and he is to repair, as soon as possible, to the camp before Boston. This appointment will have a great effect in cementing and securing the union of these colonies."

Washington accepted the nomination in a little speech, which showed the real diffidence of the man at the same time that it showed a determination to stake every thing for the American cause.

To Patrick Henry he said, in private : " This day will be the commencement of the decline of my reputation." Henry thought that his eye glistened with a tear. He had absented himself from the Congress when his appointment had been made. On the next day he appeared in his place. He declined to receive any payment for his services beyond what his expenses might be ; and then said :

" As the Congress desire it, I will enter upon the momentous duty and exercise every power I possess in their service, and for the support of the glorious cause. But I beg it may be remembered by every gentleman in this room that I this day declare, with the utmost sincerity, I do not think myself equal to the command I am honored with."

When he spoke thus modestly, he was probably looking back on the nature of the military training which he had really received. It is worth while to remember here that eighteen months after, in all the perplexities of White Plains, he wrote in a confidential letter that there was not a man of them all who had ever seen two regiments in line of battle when this war began.

From Philadelphia he writes to his wife :

" I hope my undertaking this service is designed to answer some good purpose. I rely confidently on that Providence which has beautifully preserved and been bountiful to me. You may believe me, my dearest Patsy,

when I assure you in the most solemn manner, that, so far from seeking this appointment, I have used every endeavor in my power to avoid it,—not only from my unwillingness to part with you and the family, but from a consciousness of it being a trust too great for my capacity, and that I should enjoy more real happiness with you at home than I have the most distant prospect of finding abroad, if my stay were to be seven times seven years.”

With but little delay, Congress appointed the other officers who were to serve under Washington, not having so much regard to military ability as to the necessity for conciliating the different states who were to furnish the privates and subalterns for the army. Of these men, only one or two made good, in after time, the reputation which they received temporarily by such appointment. But it is interesting to note that Thomas, Wooster, and Montgomery sealed with their lives the record of their devotion to their country. The ablest general of them, as the event proved, was Greene of Rhode Island, the youngest brigadier. Two generations afterwards, Jared Sparks, who was perhaps, as competent to form a judgment as any of our historians, said that had Washington died, Greene was competent to have taken up his work and to have carried it on to success.

The generals who were in Philadelphia left immediately for their duties. At a farewell supper, the members all rose as they drank a health to the

commander-in-chief of the American army. "They listened in stillness to his thanks, for the sense of the difficulties which lay before him suppressed every festal cheer." The next day they had the first rumors of the battle at Charlestown. On the 23d of June Washington was escorted out of Philadelphia by a cavalcade of light-horse in uniform attended by the Massachusetts delegates, officers of militia, and many others. On the 26th of June he arrived at New York. It was announced that he was to cross the Hudson on that day. At four o'clock in the afternoon, dressed in a uniform of blue and buff, which had been the uniform of the English army in the old days when England was a Commonwealth and was really free, and which was retained through the colonies from old memories of Fairfax and of Cromwell, as the color to be worn by free men, Washington landed in the city. Drawn in an open carriage by a pair of white horses, he was escorted by nine companies of infantry. The day was Sunday. On the next day the Provincial Congress of New York addressed Washington with their felicitations, but they still declared that "an accommodation with the mother country was the fondest wish of each American soul." Washington himself, in reply, said: "When we assumed the soldier, we did not lay aside the citizen"; but he added, that "all thought of private life must be postponed to the establishment of liberty on the

firmest foundations." He did not loiter in New York, but kept on upon his way to Cambridge, where he arrived on the 2d day of July.

At Cambridge he was most cordially received by the officers of the army, and by none more cordially than by one of nature's noblemen, whom he had superseded, Artemas Ward. It is a melancholy thing to say that in the revenge of time, and in the carelessness of history, the name of the man whom Massachusetts had honored with the first command of her first army, and who had taken, as a matter of course, the command of all the armies of the four New England provinces, should now be almost wholly forgotten by his countrymen. A cruel accident has transferred the name from him to be the name of a merry jester, and it is difficult now to make even a skilful printing-house spell rightly the name of the great soldier who once commanded the only army of America.

Artemas Ward never showed the slightest jealousy of George Washington. He was the first officer under his command, and he rendered to him the most loyal assistance. He commanded the right wing of the American army at the siege of Boston. To his personal supervision was due the successful carrying out of the admirable plans by which the English army were driven from Boston in the spring. And if any man ever deserved a second copy of the medal struck by Congress to be pre-

sented to Washington on that occasion, with the proud motto "*Hostibus Primo Fugatis*," that man was Artemas Ward, who carried out, in so masterly a manner, the masterly directions of the chief whom he obeyed.

On the 3d of July, the division of the army which formed its centre was paraded on Cambridge Common, and under an elm tree, which still stands, Washington read his commission and assumed command.

It was the habit of Washington's enemies in the revolution, to assail what they were pleased to call his Fabian policy. In the underhand letters of Lee, Conway, and others of the malcontents, the sentiment appears again and again, that in more enterprising hands the American cause would gain much. There can be little doubt that this impression has worked its way into the general notions of Washington's character, and his military ability. But it is probably quite unfounded. Certainly it would be difficult for the most dashing young marshal of the Napoleon school to have contrived more, and indeed to have done more, than Washington did in the eight months between his arrival at Cambridge and the departure of Howe from Boston. The history of those months is indeed dramatic.

First of all, there comes in the terrible revelation that he and his army were almost entirely

without powder. It is said that he was silent for a long time after this revelation was made to him, and well may it have been that none of the gentlemen around him dared to break this silence. It is not yet fully explained how the misunderstanding took place, by which he and the other officers in chief command had been deceived. It would appear that an effort had been made to conceal from the guards themselves, the small amount of powder in the storehouses. This was an effort dictated by the finest military insight and is highly creditable to Ward, or whoever carried it into effect. In the execution of this plan, barrels of sand marked as powder, had been delivered with the proper amount of parade, from time to time, and had been entered by the unconscious clerks in charge, as if they were the powder which they should have been. The secret was so well maintained that it deceived even those who ought not to have been deceived. And when, for his own use, Washington had an accurate statement of the amount of real powder and of the amount of sand, which he had in store, he was literally struck dumb by the revelation. He had not nine cartridges for each man in his army.

To begin, then, he had to provide the most necessary munition for modern war, and to provide it in such a way that neither friends nor enemies should know that he was in need. This thing he did. It is interesting now to see how diverse were

the stores from which this powder was drawn, but there is hardly a letter in the varied correspondence which does not allude to the need, sometimes of a very few barrels, sometimes of a more considerable amount. A bold dash on Bermuda and another on the Bahamas, brought them some supplies from those islands. In the southwest, Oliver Pollock, acting on his own responsibility, in New Orleans, sent up to Pittsburg powder from the Spanish garrisons. Here a little and there a little, and by diligent manufacture in the northeastern states, powder, so to speak, dribbled in upon the army, which was powerless without.

So soon as he was sure of any supply, Washington contrived and sent out the expedition of Arnold up the Kennebec River to support, by a diversion, the movement which Schuyler was making against Montreal. This expedition of Arnold almost succeeded. If it had succeeded, if Quebec had fallen into the hands of the Americans at that early period of the war, the whole history of the war would now be written with other words, with other successes, and with an end coming far sooner than it did. Early in October, once more, Washington took the bold initiative of sending cruisers out to prey even on the transports and store-ships of the English army. He actually supplied himself that winter, with the stores which had been intended for the army which he was besieging, and this while

his enemy had a fleet in the harbor of Boston, of which the smallest vessel was stronger, by far, than the largest vessel which Washington could put into commission.

Again and again, as that autumn and winter passed, he held councils of war for the purpose of proposing aggressive measures, in which he and his immediate friends were overruled by the prudence or caution of a majority of his generals. At that period it would have been impossible for a young commander from a distance to have ordered these gentlemen into action for a plan which they did not, at heart, approve. It is always difficult for any commander to do this under the best of circumstances. But the deficiency was not Washington's lack of push or energy. It was in the circumstances so nearly hopeless, that such generals as he commanded, who certainly had zeal enough and enthusiasm enough, were unwilling to risk every thing on the event. At the end of what we call the siege, the measures by which he succeeded are not the measures of prudence. They are the measures of a resolute man who has made himself master of the position and is able to make his attack in such a way that an enemy even as largely provided as the English army was, under a commander like Howe, who had no lack of courage even if he was somewhat indolent, preferred to retire than enter into an unequal contest.

The following despatch to Congress explains the plan of the Arnold expedition, as it existed in his own mind.

“I am now to inform the honorable Congress that, encouraged by the repeated declarations of the Canadians and Indians, and urged by their requests, I have detached Colonel Arnold with a thousand men to penetrate into Canada by way of Kennebec River, and, if possible, to make himself master of Quebec. By this manœuvre I propose either to divert Carleton from St. John's, which would leave a free passage to General Schuyler. Or, if this did not take effect, Quebec, in its present defenceless state, must fall into his hands an easy prey. I made all possible inquiry as to the distance, the safety of the route, and the danger of the season being too far advanced ; but found nothing in either to deter me from proceeding, more especially as it met with very general approbation from all whom I consulted upon it. But, that nothing might be omitted to enable me to judge of its propriety and probable consequences, I communicated it by express to General Schuyler, who approved of it in such terms that I resolved to put it in immediate execution. They have now left this place seven days, and, if favored with a good wind, I hope soon to hear of their being safe in Kennebec River. For the satisfaction of the Congress, I here enclose a copy of the proposed route. I also do myself the honor of enclosing a manifesto which I caused to be printed here, and of which Colonel Arnold has taken a suitable number with him. I have also forwarded a copy of his instructions. From all which I hope the Congress will have a clear view of the motives, plan, and intended execution of this enterprise, and that I shall be so happy as to meet with their approbation in it.

“I was the more induced to make this detachment, as it is my clear opinion, from a careful observation of the movements of the enemy, corroborated by all the intelligence we receive by deserters and others (of the former of whom we have some every day), that the enemy have no intention to come out until they are reinforced. They have been wholly employed for some time past in procuring materials for barracks, fuel, and making other preparations for winter. These circumstances, with the constant additions to their works, which are apparently defensive, have led to the above conclusions, and enabled me to spare this body of men, where I hope they will be usefully and successfully employed.

“The state of inactivity in which this army has lain for some time by no means corresponds with my wishes to relieve my country by some decisive stroke from the heavy expense its subsistence must create. After frequently reconnoitring the situation of the enemy in the town of Boston, collecting all possible intelligence, and digesting the whole, a surprise did not appear to me wholly impracticable, though hazardous. I communicated it to the general officers some days before I called them to a council, that they might be prepared with their opinions. The result I have the honor of enclosing. I cannot say that I have wholly laid it aside; but new events may occasion new measures. Of this I hope the honorable Congress can need no assurance, that there is not a man in America who more earnestly wishes such a termination of the campaign as to make the army no longer necessary.

“I have filled up the office of quartermaster-general, which the Congress was pleased to leave to me, by the appointment of Major Mifflin, which I hope and believe will be universally acceptable.

“It gives me great pain to be obliged to solicit the attention of the honorable Congress to the state of this army in terms which imply the slightest apprehension of being neglected. But my situation is inexpressibly distressing, to see the winter fast approaching upon a naked army, the time of their service within a few weeks of expiring, and no provision yet made for such important events. Added to these, the military chest is totally exhausted, the paymaster has not a single dollar in hand, the commissary-general assures me he has strained his credit for the subsistence of the army to the utmost, the quartermaster-general is precisely in the same situation, and the greater part of the troops are in a state not far from mutiny, upon deduction from their stated allowance. I know not to whom I am to impute this failure, but I am of opinion, if this evil is not immediately remedied, and more punctuality observed in future, the army must absolutely break up. I hoped I had so fully expressed myself on this subject, both by letter and to those members of the Congress who honored the camp with a visit, that no disappointment could possibly happen. I therefore hourly expected advice from the paymaster that he had received a fresh supply in addition to the hundred and seventy-two thousand dollars delivered to him in August; and thought myself warranted to assure the public creditors that in a few days they should be satisfied. But the delay has brought matters to such a crisis as admits of no further uncertain expectation. I have therefore sent off this express with orders to make all possible despatch. It is my earnest request that he may be returned with all possible expedition, unless the honorable Congress have already forwarded what is so indispensably necessary.”

This letter gives a good enough illustration of the

course which Washington pursued all through the war, and it may fairly be said that never was any other general in such a position as he was in. He was made the commander-in-chief of the American army ; but he knew very well that the power which he served was jealous and sensitive, while it was ignorant and wholly without experience. He was obliged, then, to make his plans, to instruct his instructors, and to keep them as well informed as any sovereign might have been who should be attending a favorite general on the field of battle. He was thus under the necessity of entrusting the secrets of war to a body of forty or fifty men, who very soon proved that they could not keep any secrets at all.

It is this curious position which gives value and interest to his own despatches through the war. And any one who should wish to write the history of the American war, and would publish together all of Washington's despatches, would give us such a history as probably never was written in any other war. We should have it from the pen of the person who had most responsibility and who deserves most praise.

It will not be in our power to follow this history in that way. Indeed, it is not our purpose to write the history of the revolution. But from time to time, we will cite from the despatches, such personal recollections as may give the reader a better idea of the man whose life we are following.

The war was to show that on the seas the rebel commanders and their crews were to inflict even more injury on the resources of Great Britain than on the land. Sufficient attention has not been paid, in history, to the change brought about in the public opinion of England by the losses sustained by her merchants under the perpetual infliction of privateers. In the whole system of maritime war, the beginning was made nine months before the Declaration of Independence, when Washington commissioned Glover and Moylan to hire and fit out cruisers against the " Ministerial " fleet. The commissions were given thus : with a view to sending Marblehead crews from the army, as will be seen. Glover and Moylan were already in the service.

TO COL. JOHN GLOVER AND D. MOYLAN, ESQ.

" CAMP-AT-CAMBRIDGE, 4 Oct., 1775.

" Instructions to Colonel Glover and Mr. Moylan.

" His Excellency, having resolved to equip two armed vessels, has empowered you to negotiate this business, in which the following directions are to be observed :

" 1st. That the vessels be approved sailers, and as well found as possible.

" 2d. That you have an appraisement made of them, by indifferent people, to be returned to head-quarters.

" 3d. That you agree, at as reasonable a rate as you can, for the hire of the vessels, and, if possible, procure the cannon and swivels on loan ; and if not, purchase them at the cheapest rate per month.

“4th. If you cannot equip them suitably at Salem or Marblehead, one of you to proceed to Newbury Port, where there are several vessels and sundry cannon provided suitable for this purpose.

“5th. You are as soon as possible, to send down proper directions for the making of the cartridges, and providing ammunition, and a list of what will be wanted.

“6th. You are to nominate some suitable person at Cape Ann, Marblehead, and each other place, where any prizes may be sent, as an Agent, to take care of such prizes, instructing him to give as early information as possible of all captures and a list of the cargoes, as far as he can do it from papers.

“These persons, when nominated by you, to receive instructions from head-quarters. You are also to settle with them the terms, and let them be persons of approved good character and known substance. All agreements, etc., to be put in writing.

“7th. All contracts entered into by you jointly when together, or separately in case one should go to Newbury, the General will ratify and confirm.

“8th. As soon as either of the vessels is in such forwardness as to be ready to sail in a few days, you are to send notice to head-quarters, that the officers and men may march down.”

To the agent, the following commission was given, countersigned by Moylan.

“To Winthrop Sargent, Esq., Cape Anne. Instructions as Agent for continental armed vessels : ”

“HEAD-QUARTERS, 1 January, 1776.

“SIR :

“You being recommended to His Excellency as a proper person to transact the business of the several armed ves-

sels, fitted out or to be fitted out at the continental expense, will be pleased to consider what follows as your instructions.

“1. When any of the continental vessels put into Cape Anne, you are to supply them with such necessaries as are absolutely wanting.

“When any prize is sent in, you are, without delay, to go on board, receive all the papers *on board*, and transmit them by express to Head Quarters.

“2. You are to make out an inventory of the cargo, as near as you can from the papers found on board, or information from the master or mate of the prize. All possible care that can be taken, must be used to prevent any embezzlement of the cargo; or of the captain's, crews', or passengers' private property, which must be given up to them, except some extraordinary circumstances should arise to make an alteration of this order necessary.

“3. All sailors belonging to a prize, to be detained with you or sent to a neighboring town, where you may think them more secure, until you receive orders from Head Quarters for the farther disposal of them.

“4. All prisoners of whatever rank to be treated with the utmost humanity and tenderness.

“5. As you are appointed a continental agent only, if the officers and men choose to appoint an agent for their one third of any prize taken, they may do so. In that case, you are to permit him to take a copy of all papers relating to the cargo, and when the vessel is discharged you must give unto said Agent, a copy of what was on board.

“6. The Hulls of all vessels taken with all their appurtenances, to be carefully laid up in a secure port, until further orders.

“7. Whatever advice you at any time have respecting

the armed vessels or prizes, that is material, you will send up to Head Quarters by suitable opportunities.

“8. Forasmuch as the port of Cape Anne lies convenient for the armed vessels to run into, when in want of provisions and other necessaries, you will lay in on the most reasonable terms, 12 bbls. of Beef and 12 of Pork; 20 barrels of bread will be ordered you from Beverly, where a quantity is reserved for the use of the armed vessels; and, as you supply any vessel with a part of these articles, you are to replace them, so as always to keep up that quantity on hand. You must take the Steward's receipt for every thing you supply.

“9. As the harbour of Cape Anne is not looked upon as safe to lay up any prizes or their cargoes, you must, as soon as possible, have such as may be brought in there, sent up to Beverly, where William Bartlett Esq.: is by his Excellency appointed an agent. You and Mr. Bartlett must agree between yourselves about the terms upon which you will do business for each other of this sort. The commission allowed to all agents is two and a half per cent. on sales of any prize &c., and the same on the amount of provisions and necessaries supplied the vessels with.

“10. In making up your accounts, you are to remember that the original bills or invoices are to be sent as vouchers; that your own account is to be general, and at the bottom an affidavit of the justice of your accounts. This is not done from any jealousy or suspicion, but that the utmost satisfaction may be given the country, and that all agents may be on the same footing. You will at all times give the utmost dispatch, and, of any irregularity, misconduct, or negligence in the officers of any vessel, you are desired to give immediate information to the General.

“Should any of the vessels unnecessarily remain in port, you are to give orders to the commander to proceed forthwith to sea. Should he refuse, you are to demand his reasons and transmit the same to Head Quarters.”

We publish these papers (for the first time, so far as we know) because they show how far-sighted was the policy of the very beginning. Washington and the other leaders no longer supposed that a campaign of a few weeks was to settle this affair. And they entered on an international war by measures which boldly threatened England's empire on the seas, though at the outset they only involved the outfit of a few Marblehead schooners.

We have the record of the councils of war which so young a general was obliged to hold, when he had under his command men who thought they knew more than he. In every instance he is overruled in his bold projects, excepting in the despatch of Arnold to Canada, until the great success of March. In the month of November he wrote to Mrs. Washington to propose that she should come to camp, and she did so. She travelled in her own chariot, with four horses, and black postilions in scarlet and white liveries. Modest Cambridge was unused to such grandeur, but did not disapprove. Mrs. Washington's presence gave vivacity to life at head-quarters, and the memory is still preserved of the elegant parties of that winter.

As the winter passed, one of the Marblehead

cruisers brought in, almost under the eyes of the English fleet, the *Nancy*, a government vessel filled with every sort of military stores. Howe was crippled and Washington strengthened in equal measure by this bold capture. From the West, Knox arrived in triumph, with cannon and mortars, which he had brought across on the snow from Ticonderoga and Crown Point. Powder had come in, enough for a reasonable use of this ordnance, and under the eyes of his enemy Washington reorganized his army.

Every thing served but the climate. The winter was milder than usual, and the Charles River would not freeze. Every thing was ready, when the ice should freeze solidly, for a bold attack upon Boston. With lesser attempts on one side or another, the critical push would have been made not far from the present line of Commonwealth Avenue ; for that part of the bay on the west of Boston has been changed into land, and is covered by streets and houses. This plan failing, in the first week in March, Ward, in command of the right wing, was directed to seize Dorchester Heights, bold hills which commanded Boston harbor on the south.

Ward did so. He arranged with Thomas, a spirited brigadier under his command, so skilfully, that by a night movement the higher of these hills was seized and fortified by a strong body of troops. "It was like the work of the genii of Aladdin's

wonderful lamp " ; so writes an English officer. On that night, or the next, Washington was himself upon the spot to encourage the men, and to consult his brave coadjutors.

It was enough. Howe sent a strong attacking force to the castle, who were to cross to the foot of the heights, to storm the works, if they could, the next day, but a tempest prevented the attack ; and, before it was possible, the works were so strengthened that no soldier who remembered Bunker Hill would think of carrying them by storm.

Through the mediation of the select-men of Boston, Howe intimated to Washington that if he were unmolested he would withdraw fleet and army without injuring the town. The compact was a good one for both parties. Although Washington would make no formal promise, Howe retired on these terms, and the 17th of March saw the last of him, of his fleet, and of his army.

The following note, written from Washington to Ward in the thick of these events, is a pleasant reminder of the importance of the crisis, of his own eagerness, and of his careful attention to detail.

WASHINGTON TO WARD.

"CAMBRIDGE, 2 March, '76.

"SIR :

"After weighing all circumstances of Tide, &c., and considering the hazard of having the Posts on Dorchester Neck taken by the enemy, and the evil consequences

which would result from it, the Gentlemen here are of opinion that we should go on there Monday night. I give you this early notice of it, that you may delay no time in preparing for it, as every thing here will be got in readiness to co-operate. In haste,

“I am, Sir, your most obed. servt.,

“GEO. WASHINGTON.

“(Saturday evening.) Remember—Barrels.”

The allusion to “barrels” is to the preparation of casks, heavily loaded with stone and gravel, which were to be rolled down on the advancing troops.

A triumphal entry into Boston followed, and the people of the town welcomed with delight him whom they fondly called their liberator. The name of “Washington Street” was at once given to the main street by which Boston was approached by land. That name has since gradually taken the place of the other names by which this long street was then called, Orange Street, Marlboro Street, and Cornhill. Indeed, a recent extension carries Washington Street to the extreme north of the city, and the change of local names extends it on the south for eight or ten miles.

Washington established himself for his headquarters at the inn at the head of State Street, which Howe had occupied. Such is the fate of war, that a general frequently sleeps in the same bed which his rival had used, and this was probably true in that instance. The house was a boarding-house, so

called, kept by Mrs. Edwards. Washington's fondness for children showed itself still. He would catch up Mrs. Edwards' granddaughter, take her on his knee, and talk to her. He asked the child one day, which soldiers she liked best, the red coats or the blue coats. The child, with the truth of childhood, said that she liked the red coats best. Washington laughed and said: "Ah, my dear, they look better; but they don't fight. The ragged fellows are the boys for fighting." The anecdote is worth telling, because it is one of a dozen which might be cited, which refute that very grim statement of one of the eulogists of Washington, that he was never seen to smile during the Revolutionary war.

Crowded as Washington's years were, there is not one which shows the pressure of a thousand cares as this does. In comparison with other years there are very few letters home. Writing to Landon Carter, March 25, '76, he says:

"Though I might entrench myself behind the parade of great business with as much propriety as most men, yet I shall neither avail myself of it, nor be debarred the pleasure of making this address."

The country was now left virtually without an English soldier. The English fleet lay, for some time, in Nantasket Roads, below Boston, but at last it was known that Howe had taken his forces to Halifax. Every military man understood that if the English government made any new attempt

against the colonies, they would take, for their central position, the city of New York. Washington immediately began to detach his army to New York, and as soon as several bodies had passed thither, he followed himself, going by way of Providence, Newport, New London, and the shore of Long Island Sound. He thus had an opportunity, in Rhode Island, to see some few points, which proved to be of critical importance as the war went on.

He arrived in New York on the 13th day of April, in advance of most of his troops. One of the early letters from that city is to John Adams, thanking him for the medal which Congress had voted him. "We have nothing, my dear sir, to depend upon but the protection of a kind providence and unanimity among ourselves. I am impressed with the deepest gratitude for the medal intended me by Congress. Whatever device may be determined upon by the respectable committee they have chosen for that purpose, will be highly agreeable to me." The medal which was struck is the finest in the American series. It was executed in France under orders by Franklin. The mottoes are, on one side, "*Bostonium Recuperatum*," and on the other, "*Hostibus Primo Fugatis*." The original medal, after many chances of inheritance and war, is now in the possession of the Massachusetts Historical Society.

In a letter of April, writing to the President of Congress, he says :

“ I have communicated in general orders, to the officers and soldiers under my command, the thanks of Congress for their good behavior in the service, and I am happy in having such an opportunity of doing justice to their merit. They were no doubt, at first, a band of undisciplined husbandmen ; but it is, under God, to their bravery and attention to their duty, that I am indebted for that success which has procured me the only reward I wish to receive, the affection and esteem of my countrymen.”

On the 23d of April he was able to write that he had re-enforced the Canadian contingent with four strong regiments, a company of riflemen, a company of artificers, and two of engineers. They embarked for Albany “ with a fair wind.” He was not without hopes, though not sanguine hopes, even at this time, of recovering the ground which had been lost in Canada.

In a letter of the 23d, urging the necessity of a favorable allowance for his aides, Washington says :

“ Nothing but the zeal of those gentlemen who live with me and act in this capacity for the great American cause, and personal attachment to me, have induced them to undergo the trouble and fatigue they have experienced since they have become members of my family. I give in to no kind of amusements myself, and consequently those about me can have none, but are from morning till evening mailing and answering the applications and letters of one and another. If these gentlemen have the same re-

laxation from duty as other officers have in their common routine, there would not be so much in it. But to have the man always on the stretch, scarce ever unbent, and no hours for recreation, makes a material odds. Knowing this, and how inadequate the pay is, I can scarce find inclination to impose the necessary duties of their office upon it."

In a letter of the 29th, reviewing the position to his brother, he says :

"I have brought the whole army which I had in the New England governments, except five regiments left behind for the defence of Boston, to this place. Eight days ago I detached four regiments for Canada, and I am about embarking six more regiments for the same place. It was thought best to strengthen that quarter at the expense of this, but I am afraid we are rather too late in trying it."

And so the event proved. In the same letter he says :

"Mrs. Washington is still here and talks of taking the small-pox ; but I doubt her resolution. Mr. and Mrs. Custis, (these are the young people who had been married two years before) will set out in a few days for Maryland. I did not write you by the squire, because his departure, in the first place, was sudden ; in the next, I had but little to say. I am very sorry to hear that my sister was indisposed when you last wrote. I hope she has now recovered, and that your family is well."

Meanwhile the news from the north was so bad that Gates had been sent to Philadelphia to confer with Congress, and on the 19th of May Washington

himself was summoned there. It was time for Mrs. Washington, who had spent the winter with him, to return home, as an active campaign was before them ; and she and her husband left New York on the 21st of May. They were Hancock's guests while they were in Philadelphia. The visit seems to have quickened the action of Congress, and important measures were taken under his suggestion for carrying on the war with more alacrity. While in Philadelphia, Mrs. Washington brought her courage up to the mark, and was inoculated for the small-pox with a favorable result. The reader remembers that Washington had taken the disease in the natural way, when he was a young man.

From this time until summer he was engaged in New York, watching the fortifications of that city and of Long Island, and awaiting the arrival, which was more and more sure, of Howe's army.

He had not long been in New York when a plot, which began among a set of low-lived liquor dealers, was formed to capture him and deliver him to the English. The Tory mayor of the city, Mathews, was implicated, and he was arrested. A careful investigation was made, and Hickey, a member of Washington's guard, was hanged on the 28th of June. The same afternoon, four English ships of war appeared off the Hook and dropped anchor in the bay. The next day forty sail arrived, and this was the beginning of the appearance of Howe's

army. It was the largest and the best-equipped army which was ever on American soil until the beginning of the civil war in 1861. The full returns show that Howe landed at Staten Island more than thirty-one thousand men. This was a force much larger than that which Washington had with which to meet them.

In a letter to the President of Congress of 14th of July, Washington gives an account of his first message from Lord Howe.

Lord Howe was the admiral of that name, the brother of that Howe who had been killed at Ticonderoga, in the French war. There had been three of these Howes, and the youngest of the three, William Howe, was the general who had distinguished himself at Bunker Hill and who had been appointed to supersede Gage when Gage was recalled. Lord Howe was an admiral in the English navy, and was now in command of the fleet. These two were commissioners who were entrusted with large powers for the restoration of peace. But unfortunately for them, their commissions had been issued in England before independence had been declared in America ; and when they arrived, they found they were dealing no longer with rebels, but with an independent nation which would receive no terms which did not recognize their independence.

Washington's account of his first communication with Lord Howe is in the following words.

“About three o'clock this afternoon, I directed Colonel Reed to go down (to meet Lord Howe) and manage the affair. On his return, he informed me that after the common civilities the officer acquainted him that he had a letter from Lord Howe to Mr. Washington, which he showed under the superscription to ‘George Washington, Esquire.’ Colonel Reed replied that there was no such person in the army, and that a letter intended for the general could not be received under such a direction. The officer expressed great concern, said it was a letter rather of a civil than a military nature, that Lord Howe regretted that he had not arrived sooner, that he had great power, that his anxiety to have the letter received was very evident, though the officer disclaimed all knowledge of its contents. However, Colonel Reed’s instructions being positive, they parted. After they had got some distance, the officer with the flag again put about, and asked under what direction Mr. Washington chose to be addressed, to which Colonel Reed answered that his station was well known, and that certainly they could be at no loss how to direct to him.”

This letter was written on the 14th of July, ten days after the declaration of independence. The reader will observe that the Howes arrived just at the moment of public rejoicing on the distinct definition of the American position.

So soon as the English fleet could show its power, it was evident that the Americans were at disadvantage. The English ships passed the batteries of the city of New York without receiving any apparent injury. They ascended to Haverstraw Bay and

anchored so far from the shore as to be out of danger. When they attempted to land, their men were beaten back by militia, but they controlled the water passages.

From the north, Washington had the worst accounts. Schuyler and Gates had determined to give up Crown Point and Ticonderoga, but Washington writes to his brother, in a letter which is necessarily cautious :

“What kind of opposition we shall be able to make, time only can show. I can only say that the men appear to be in good spirits, and if they will stand by me, this place shall not be carried without some loss.”

His estimates of the numbers on both sides gave the enemy twenty-five thousand, which, as the reader has seen, was six thousand too small. His own force was about fifteen thousand men. In speaking of the passage of the English ships by his batteries, he says that “it exhibited a proof of what I had long most religiously believed, and that is, that a vessel with a brisk wind and strong tide, cannot, unless by a chance shot, be stopped by a battery, unless you can place some obstruction in the water to impede her motion within reach of your guns.”

This is not the place to describe in detail Howe’s successful movement, by which he landed his army on the south of the village of Brooklyn, Long Island, overpowered the American army there, and compelled them to retreat. The ground is now

perfectly known, the mistakes made are understood, and it is fair to say that the defeat, which was a defeat, was not a disgraceful one to the American arms. Washington was obliged to withdraw his force from Brooklyn, and this he did with singular success. There is a letter to Hancock, written at Brooklyn on the afternoon of the 29th of August :

“ I am sorry to inform the Congress that I have not yet heard of either General Sullivan or Lord Sterling, who were among the missing after the engagement, nor can I ascertain our loss.”

On the 31st of August, in his despatches from New York City, he says :

“ Inclination as well as duty would have induced me to give Congress the earliest information of my removal and that of the troops to this city, but the extreme fatigue which myself and family have undergone, as much from the weather since, as the engagement of the 27th, rendered me and them entirely unfit to take pen in hand. This month scarce any of us have been out of the lines till our passage across the East River was effected yesterday morning : and for forty-eight hours preceding that, I had hardly been off my horse, and never closed my eyes, so that I was quite unfit to write or dictate till this morning.”

He had heard from Generals Sullivan and Sterling, both of whom were prisoners.

From this time, through the month of September and the fortnight following, Washington was on the Island of New York, holding the city inch by inch.

but gradually withdrawing before his stronger enemy. He is sometimes beside himself with distress at the failure of his men, and sometimes encouraged again by their spirit. In a letter to a friend, Greene says: "Fellows's and Parsons's brigades ran away from about fifty men, and left his excellency on the ground within eighty yards of the enemy, so vexed at the infamous conduct of his troops that he sought death rather than life." "Are these the men," he cried, "with whom I am to defend America?" And Mr. Irving says that, in a paroxysm of passion and despair, he snapped his pistol at some of them and threatened others with his sword. His own letter says:

"To my surprise and mortification, I found the troops flying in every direction and in the greatest confusion, notwithstanding the exertions of their generals to form them. I used every means in my power to rally and get them into some order, but my attempts were fruitless and ineffectual, and on the appearance of a small party of the enemy, not more than sixty or seventy, their disorder increased, and they ran away in the greatest confusion without firing a single shot."

Dr. Gordon says that his attendants caught the bridle of his horse and gave him a different direction, being afraid that he would be taken prisoner. On the other hand, but a few days after, Knowlton's regiment, in the skirmish on ground which is now in the Central Park, behaved so well that

Washington complimented them in his general orders. In writing to his brother, he says : “ Our troops behaved well, putting the enemy to flight in open ground, and forcing them from posts they had seized two or three times.” And he says of Knowlton : “ He would have done honor to any country.”

But all would not do. The English held the river with their ships, and it was a mere question of time when the army should move forward from the island of Manhattan. Washington’s head-quarters were at Harlem Heights till the 21st of October, and on the 23d were established at White Plains. Howe followed him, and for the rest of the month the armies confronted each other, with some hard fighting, but on the night of the 4th Howe withdrew to the North River. The movements followed which resulted in the loss of Forts Washington and Lee, on the defence of which Congress had relied for maintaining the control of the passage of the Hudson. Washington himself had not shared their confidence. Fort Washington was held contrary to his wishes and opinions. “ As I conceived it to be a hazardous determination, but it having been determined on by a full council of general officers, and a resolution of Congress having been received, I did not care to give a resolute order for withdrawing the garrison, and then it became too late. I had given it as my opinion to Gen. Greene that it would be best to

evacuate the place, but as the order was discretionary, it was delayed, to my great grief."

In the midst of these public movements, old associations assert themselves. Here is a letter to the mother of the Mary Philipse, whom he did not marry twenty years before :

TO MRS. PHILIPSE, PHILIPSBORO.

" HEAD-QUARTERS AT MR. VALENTINE'S, Oct. 22, 1776.

" MADAM :

" The misfortunes of war and the unhappy circumstances frequently attendant thereon to individuals are more to be lamented than avoided; but it is the duty of every one to alleviate these as much as possible. Far be it from me, then, to add to the distress of a lady who, I am but too sensible, must already have suffered much uneasiness, if not inconvenience, on account of Col. Philipse's absence.

" No special order has gone forth from me for removal of the stock of the inhabitants, but from the nature of the case, and in consequence of some resolutions of the convention of this State, the measure has been adopted. However, as I am satisfied it is not meant to deprive families of their necessary support, I shall not withhold my consent to your retaining such parts of your stock as may be essential to this purpose, relying on your assurances and promise that no more will be retained.

" G. W."

In the correspondence of the autumn, both military and private, are one and another intimation of the condition of the currency. In a long letter of Aug. 15th to his agent, Lund Washington, he says : " A

barrel of corn which used to sell for ten shillings will now fetch forty shillings. A barrel of pork which could be had for three pounds sells for five pounds."

In the surrender of Fort Washington, Washington lost two thousand men, a good deal of artillery, and some of his best small-arms. When Fort Lee was abandoned, he saved the ammunition and a part of the stores, and his garrison.

Satisfied that Howe intended to operate in New Jersey, he withdrew the principal part of his force there, and was obliged, from point to point, to retire before him. Early in December he crossed the Delaware River, and virtually left the Jerseys in the hands of the English. At the same time, Lee was taken prisoner. He had been in traitorous correspondence with the enemy for some time, but this the Americans did not know. And so much confidence was placed in his military ability that the loss was considered severe by all, with the exception perhaps of his chief.

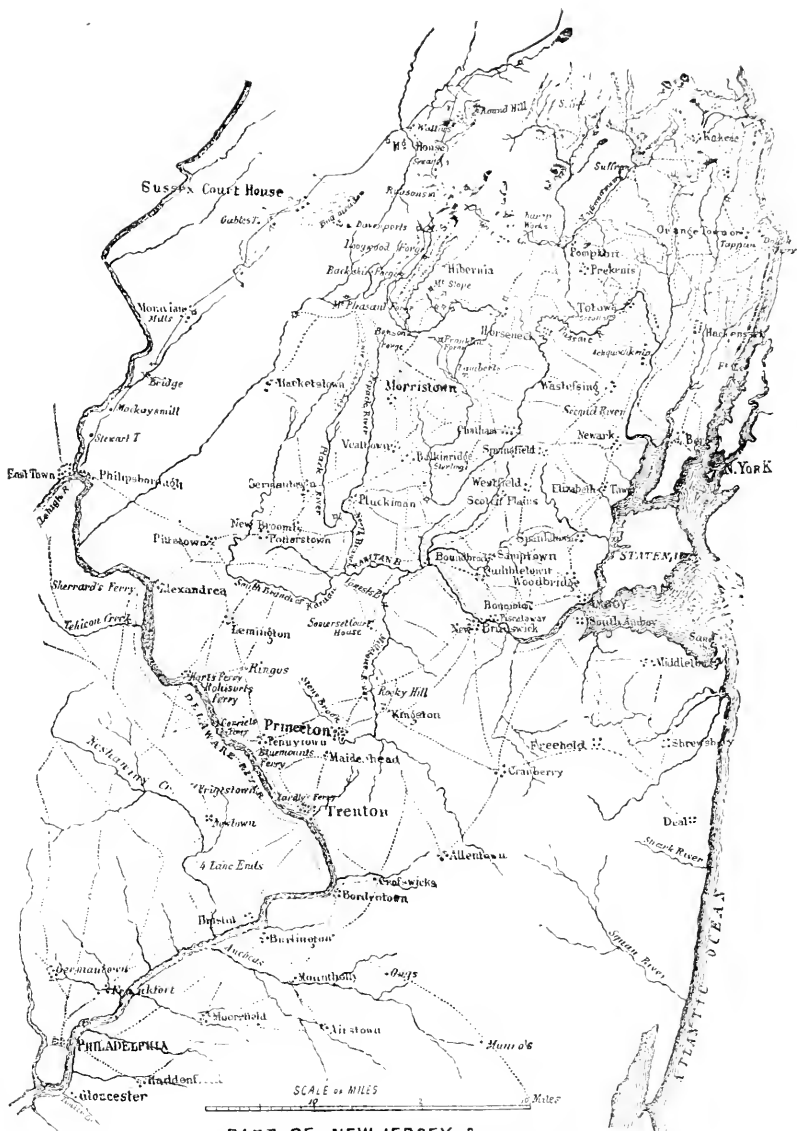
It was one of Washington's own prompt measures which changed the aspect of things. While Lee and Gates were proposing that all the army should retire to the south of the Susquehanna, Washington had directed the movement by which, on Christmas day, Trenton was surprised, its Hessian commander killed, and a thousand Hessian troops taken prisoners.



WASHINGTON CROSSING THE DELAWARE.

The 24th of December, 1776, may be said to be the date of the lowest point in his fortunes since some of those early experiences in Virginia, of which we have his own melancholy estimate. He knew he was distrusted by some of the people closest to him. He knew that he had been beaten in every important event since the Declaration of Independence. A considerable part of his army had been taken prisoners, and he knew that the term of service of a very large number would expire on the first of January. He had been obliged to retreat across the Delaware, and with little more than a handful of men was trying to cover the city of Philadelphia from the approach of a successful enemy four times as strong in numbers as he was.

It is then that he is said to have exclaimed, with a sort of elasticity that belongs to his character: "Now that their wings are so spread, it is the time to strike at them." Gates, be it observed, had expressed the view that the line on which to stop Sir William Howe was not the line of the Delaware, but that of the Susquehanna. He was on his way to propose this measure to Congress when the battle of Trenton was fought. Washington had determined to recross the Delaware, and make the celebrated attack on Trenton. He does not even hint of it in his letter to Congress of the 24th. On that day, his whole effective force was 5,906 men. He had only five thousand with him ; four hundred



PART OF NEW JERSEY &c.

(From the Original Mss Map by R. Erskine, R.R.S.
used in the U. S. Army 1773-80 now in the N.Y. Hist. Soc. Library)

were sick on furlough, or detached. Howe's army, scattered between Trenton and New York City, was about thirty thousand.

On this occasion, Washington himself took command, and wherever he was, there was success. The quantity of ice in the river had made him despair of surprising the town ; and, in fact, he did not reach it until eight o'clock in the morning. Three minutes after, the principal division arrived at the enemy's advanced post, the other division advanced at the lower post. Washington's own letter states what followed :

“ The upper division arrived at the enemy's advanced post exactly at eight o'clock, and in three minutes after, I found, from the fire on the lower road, that that division had also got up. The out-guards made but small opposition, though, for their numbers, they behaved very well, keeping up a constant retreating fire from behind houses. We presently saw their main body formed, but, from their motions, they seemed undetermined how to act. Being hard pressed by our troops, who had already got possession of their artillery, they attempted to file off by a road on their right, leading to Princeton. But, perceiving their intention, I threw a body of troops in their way, which immediately checked them. Finding from our disposition that they were surrounded, and that they must inevitably be cut to pieces if they made any further resistance, they agreed to lay down their arms. The number that submitted in this manner was twenty-three officers and eight hundred and eighty-six men. Colonel Rahl, the commanding officer, and seven others were found wounded in



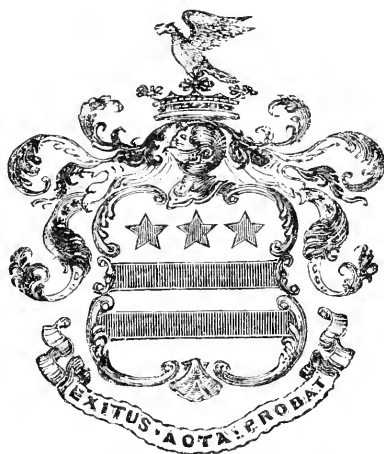
WASHINGTON AT PRINCETON.

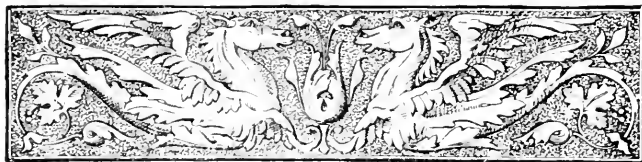
the town. I do not exactly know how many were killed, but I fancy not above twenty or thirty, as they never made any regular stand. Our loss is very trifling indeed, only two officers and one or two privates wounded."

After this success he carried off his prisoners to Pennsylvania. He learned what he could from their officers, and then satisfying himself that the English wings were still widespread, crossed the river again and took a position at Trenton. Learning that Cornwallis was approaching him, he affected to await an attack on his lines in Trenton ; but, in truth, on the night of the 2d of January, removed his whole force and cut Cornwallis's line of supplies at Princeton. Here were three regiments of infantry, and three troops of dragoons, under orders to join Cornwallis. The Americans attacked them boldly, broke their order, and took three hundred prisoners. A hundred of the English were left dead on the field. Cornwallis had been completely deceived. Nothing but the sound of the cannon at Princeton awakened him from his security. He hurried back to Princeton, too late to find his enemy, and retired to Brunswick terrified lest the military stores there might have been seized.

Clinton, in his "Notes on the Campaign," says that all the English officers were surprised that Washington did not attack Brunswick, so strong was the probability of success. The attack was, in fact, considered in the American councils. But the

American army was in no condition for a movement, where failure was, in the least, possible. Washington withdrew into good winter quarters at Morristown, and passed the winter with the encouragement of a final success. Fortunately for the American cause, the accounts of this success in Europe magnified it even beyond its reality. The depression which followed in the English army, the encouragement given to the people of the Jerseys, and the sense of success in the American camp, all made the year 1777 open more cheerfully than could have been hoped.





CHAPTER IX.

1777-1778.

Washington's Stay at Morristown—Eclipse of the Sun—Mr. Alexander's Delays—Letter to a Faulty Officer—Thoughts for Virginia Affairs—Views on the Campaign—Assisting Gates and Watching Howe—Head-Quarters Moved to Middleburg—Howe's Expedition to Philadelphia—Battle of the Brandywine—Battle of Germantown—Head-Quarters at Valley Forge—The Conway Cabal—Light-Horse Harry—Clinton Replaces Howe—Battle of Monmouth—Count D'Estaing and the French Fleet—"A Complete Set of Camp Equipage"—Difficulty of Transactions with a Depreciated Currency—1778 Ends Better than It Began.

WE know now that the effect of these successes in New Jersey was even exaggerated in New York, and more exaggerated in England. Indeed, the desertion of the Hessians who had not been taken prisoners, when they found that they were in a country where every man might have a farm for the asking, was so large, that Howe suffered materially from this cause, so long as he had his men scattered far from their garrisons. The upshot of the campaign was, that, from Washington's post at Morristown, his skirmishing parties could annoy the English all through the winter. He remained there, in fact, until July, 1777.

Mrs. Washington joined him here, and with the

quiet of winter quarters he was able to pay some attention to his business at home. The following letters show some traits of his character which do not appear in the more formal correspondence with presidents of congresses or governors of States. As early as January he acknowledges a letter which was probably dictated by Rittenhouse, the Vice-President of the Council of Safety.

Rittenhouse had expressed a fear, which now seems amusing, that an approaching eclipse might discourage the soldiers, and had sent warning in advance, remembering, probably, a classical model. Washington sends this reply :

“ MORRISTOWN, January 8, 1777.

“ GENTLEMEN :—I have been honored by your several letters, and return you many thanks for your kind attention to the wants of the army and endeavors to supply them. Nor am I less obliged by your notice of the eclipse of the sun which is to happen to-morrow. This event, without a previous knowledge, might affect the minds of the soldiery, and be attended with some bad consequences.”

Here is a letter to one of his Virginia neighbors, who has been for six years making up his mind whether he will or will not conclude a bargain :

TO ROBERT ALEXANDER.

“ MORRISTOWN, March 20, 1777.

“ DEAR SIR :—I have waited, as I think you must do me the justice to acknowledge, with a good deal of patience,

to see if you were disposed to fulfil your agreement with me respecting the land I purchased of you in Maryland. As I hear nothing of your intentions of carrying this matter into execution, and see no greater prospect of its being done now than when the bargain was first made, I cannot help considering the affair in a point of view very unfavorable.

"I think any gentleman possessed of but a moderate degree of influence with his wife, might, in the course of five or six years (for I think it is at least that time), have prevailed upon her to do an act of justice, in fulfilling his bargains and complying with his wishes, if he had been really in earnest in requesting the matter, especially as the inducement which you thought would have a powerful operation on Mrs. Alexander, namely, the birth of a child, has been doubled and tripled.

"It is not, I acknowledge, a very favorable time to purchase lands upon the water, but as this purchase still corresponds with the views I first set out upon, and I have waited your time for the completion of it, with a degree of patience which few others in my situation would have done, I hope you will give me no further cause for delays, for I cannot help repeating, and the world will believe, that the fault is not in Mrs. Alexander but yourself, if matters are procrastinated any longer.

"I am, sir, etc., etc."

To a negligent officer he writes thus :

TO ANTHONY WALTON WHITE.

"MORRISTOWN, March 20, '77.

"It was my wish to serve you. It is still my wish to do so. But I have been told that your manner of leaving the northern army was inconsistent with the character of an

officer. This is not all. I am also told that you have unfortunately indulged yourself in a loose, unguarded way of talking, which has often brought your own veracity in question, and trouble upon others. . . .

“I have no design of raising any more horse till I see how those now on foot can be equipped. But possibly it may be in my power to give you some other appointment, especially if I could be convinced that such foibles as must forever stain a character could be done away. For, believe me, sir, it is considered a very exceptional point of yours, and what most people with whom I have conversed are afraid of as hurtful to the good harmony of a corps, and dangerous to the peace of society.

“This letter is altogether private. No person but yourself is acquainted with the contents of it, and but for the inclination I have to serve you, you also would be uninformed of my sentiments and wishes for a reformation.”

This will show that Washington could say yes and no very decidedly when he had occasion. Writing to his brother on the 24th of February, he says :

“Your remark, that you cannot depend upon the reports of our strength, is most literally true. It is morally impossible that anybody, at a distance, should know it with precision and certainty, because while it depends upon militia, whose ways, like the ways of Providence, are almost inscrutable, who are here to-day and gone to-morrow, and when it is our interest, however much our characters may suffer by it, to make small numbers appear large, it is impossible you should ; for in order to deceive the enemy effectually we must not communicate our weakness to anybody.”

He is still providing for Mount Vernon. He writes to General Mifflin on the 18th of March with reference to horses :

“DEAR SIR :

“ . . . As it is more than probable that in the course of service many horses may be so worn down as to render it beneficial to the public to have them sold, I should be glad in such a case, and no other, to come in as a common purchaser of a parcel of mares to the number of even fifty or a hundred.

“ I have many large farms, and am improving a great deal of land into meadows and pasture, which cannot fail of being profited by a number of brood mares, the getting of which may, perhaps, come easier and readier in this way than any other. I again repeat, that it is upon the presumption the good of the service requires such sales that I mean to become (as any other person) a purchaser, but could wish, nevertheless, that it might be done without any mention of my name, well knowing that the most innocent and upright actions are often misconstrued, and that it would not be surprising if it should be said that I was deirauding the public of these mares by some collusion or other.

“ I should not care how low in flesh or even crippled they are, provided I could get them home, but I should not like to have them old, and would prefer bays, though I should not object to any color. If such sales are found necessary, you can, I dare say, easily manage the matter so, in my behalf, as to keep my name out of the question. My best respects to Mrs. Mifflin. With truth and sincerity, I am, dear sir, etc.

“G. WASHINGTON.”

Writing to his brother, on the first June, he gives at length his views on inoculation, ending thus :

“Surely that impolitic act—restraining inoculation in Virginia—can never be continued. If I were a member of that Assembly, I would rather move for a law to compel the masters of families to inoculate every child born within a certain limited time, under severe penalties.”

The following letter to a French officer named d'Anmours, gives Washington's own impression of foreign policy, and the opening of the campaign :

“MIDDLEBROOK, June 19, 1777.

“. . . It were to be wished that sentiments similar to yours were impressed upon the French court, and that they could be induced not to delay an event so desirable both to them and to us, as the one you are desirous should take place.

“An immediate declaration of war by France against Britain in all probability could not fail to extricate us from all our difficulties, and to cement the bond of friendship so firmly between France and America as to produce the most permanent advantages to both. Certainly nothing can be more to the true interest of France, than to have a weight of such magnitude as America taken out of the scale of British power and opulence, and thrown into that of her own, and if so, it cannot be advisable to trust any thing to contingencies, when by a conduct decisively in our favor the object in view might be put upon a sure footing.

“Permit me, sir, to correct a mistake you have made in narrating a fact with respect to the Danbury expedition,¹

¹ April 26th, 27th, 28th.

in which some magazines of ours were destroyed. You mention only a hundred men being lost to the enemy; but from various accounts and circumstances, there is little reason to doubt there must have been at least four hundred killed, wounded, and taken. I have taken notice of this error, because it is of some little importance the affair should be rightly stated, as it seems to show in a striking point of view the spirit of opposition prevailing among the people, which animated them to assemble on so sudden an occasion, and to attack a regular body of two thousand men with so much vigor, as to force them to a precipitate retreat, little differing from a rout.

“General Howe has lately made a very extraordinary movement. He sallied out from Brunswick on the night of the 13th instant, and marched toward Somerset, about nine miles distant, when he halted and began to fortify. By this operation he has drawn much nearer to us, and was in a tolerably convenient position for attacking our right, which led us to conjecture that this might have been his design. But all of a sudden he last night began to decamp, and with a good deal of expedition, if not precipitation, has returned to his former position, with his right at Amboy and his left at Brunswick. This was certainly a hasty resolution, but from what motive it is not easy to determine. He had begun a chain of redoubts from right to left, which with other circumstances indicated a design of remaining there some little time, at least. His abandoning the ground he had taken, and leaving the redoubts half finished, is an argument that he had been disappointed in his views and found it necessary to alter them. Perhaps he was discouraged by the spirit that appeared among the inhabitants who flocked together to join our army, even beyond my expectation. As he began to re-

tire in the night, had but little way to go, and was protected on his flank next to us by the Raritan, and on his rear by the Millstone, I had little or no opportunity of damaging him in his return. His soldiery plundered the people, as usual, and burned many valuable houses on their route."

All this winter they knew that Burgoyne, with a choice corps, had landed at Quebec and was following up the English success there by moving down Lake Champlain and Lake George and threatening to cut off the New England provinces from the rest of the country. As the season advanced, Schuyler, who was in command in this region, became very unpopular among the New England troops, who were largely depended upon for the defence to be made against Burgoyne, and eventually the pressure against him was such that he was obliged to withdraw. Gates, who was in the first place appointed to co-operate with him, afterwards received the full command. All this time Washington was strengthening Gates and Schuyler with his very best, was abused by Gates for not doing his best by them, and yet was weakening himself loyally for the common good. At home he had all the difficulty to contend with created by the jealousies among his own officers, who found foreign gentlemen arriving, expecting to receive commissions over their heads. The letters are full of his soothing in one direction, and his predications in another.

At the same time he was watching Howe, and,

with no little success, annoying him by one and another attack upon his posts. Howe, who was constitutionally lazy, kept himself more upon the defensive than, with the facts now before us, seems to have been necessary. But he did not know the country, and his offensive operations were not specially successful. The attack on Danbury, which was led by Tryon, was one of those successes which a man does not like to repeat. Washington maintains with Howe, all the winter, a correspondence, sometimes almost bitter, with regard to prisoners. Howe was obliged to give way at last from the high ground which the English undertook to take in the beginning.

The head-quarters were moved from Morristown to Middleburg on the 28th or 29th of May. In the beginning of July, Washington was watching Howe very anxiously, to know whether he meant to co-operate with Burgoyne directly, or not. At last Howe put to sea, to Washington's entire surprise. Howe sent out a letter, meaning that it should be captured, telling Burgoyne that he was on his way to Boston, with the view of drawing the enemy in that direction. The messenger and the letter were taken, and Washington was then sure that Howe was not going to Boston, but to Philadelphia, which was the fact. Washington moved across the country at once, to cover Philadelphia as well as he might, and soon learned that Howe had looked in at the capes of the Delaware and then departed

again. In point of fact, this was a feint on Howe's part. But he seems to have been detained at sea longer than he meant. Congress at Philadelphia wondered what had become of him. At last he came up the Chesapeake, and landed his troops at the Head of Elk, a point now known as Elktown, not very far from the railroad bridge which crosses the Susquehanna, between Philadelphia and Baltimore. This was but clumsy strategy at best. Washington was ready to receive him as well as he could in such a country, and the battle of Brandywine followed on the 11th of September.

Meanwhile the family at head-quarters had the interest which attached to the arrival of Lafayette, an elegant young gentleman from France, then in his twenty-first year. Washington at once attached him to his own person, and the fondness for him which began then, continued till the last moment of his life. His letters to Lafayette are always affectionate and have a sort of intimacy which gives them a special interest. The reader will remember that Lafayette, who behaved with great gallantry at Brandywine, was wounded in that battle.

The following is Washington's own narrative of this action :

TO THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

“CHÈSTER, twelve o'clock at night, 11 September, 1777.

“SIR:—I am sorry to inform you that in this day's engagement we have been obliged to leave the enemy

masters of the field. Unfortunately the intelligence received of the enemy's advancing up the Brandywine and crossing at a ford about six miles above us was uncertain and contradictory, notwithstanding all my pains to get the best. This prevented me from making a disposition adequate to the force with which the enemy attacked us on our right; in consequence of which, the troops first engaged were obliged to retire before they could be reinforced. In the midst of the attack on the right, that body of the enemy which remained on the other side of Chad's Ford crossed it and attacked the division there under the command of General Wayne, and the light troops under General Maxwell, who, after a severe conflict, also retired. The militia under the command of General Armstrong, being posted at a ford about two miles below Chad's, had no opportunity of engaging.

“ But though we fought under many disadvantages, and were, from the causes above mentioned, obliged to retire, yet our loss of men is not, I am persuaded, very considerable; I believe much less than the enemy's. We have also lost seven or eight pieces of cannon, according to the best information I can at present obtain. The baggage, having been previously moved off, is all secure saving the men's blankets, which being at their backs many of them doubtless are lost. I have directed all the troops to assemble behind Chester, where they are now arranging for this night. . . . ”

The truth is, that Cornwallis, who was a very able commander, out-generalled the Americans; and the only credit to be derived from the battle on the American side was that the army retreated in decent order. It was already an army. Men were acting

under their commanders ; and from this time forward the game assumes the character of the regular game of war, rather than a series of surprises, which would always take place when perfectly raw troops are under fire for the first time. What excited immediate attention in Europe, after the battle of Brandywine, was the fact that so soon, with his beaten army, Washington attacked Howe so boldly at Germantown, and this time came within the turn of a straw of success. Here is his own account, as he gives it to the Continental Congress, a good deal mortified by his failure.

TO THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

“CAMP NEAR PENNIBECKER'S MILL, 5 October, 1777.

“. . . We marched about seven o'clock the preceding evening, and General Sullivan's advanced party, drawn from Conway's brigade, attacked their picket at Mount Airy, or Mr. Allen's house, about sunrise the next morning, which presently gave way ; and his main body, consisting of the right wing, following soon, [we] engaged the light infantry and other troops encamped near the picket, which they forced from their ground. Leaving their baggage, they retreated a considerable distance, having previously thrown a party into Mr. Chew's house, who were in a situation not to be easily forced, and had it in their power, from the windows, to give us no small annoyance, and, in a great measure, to obstruct our advance.

“The attack from our left column, under General Greene, began about three-quarters of an hour after that from the right, and was, for some time, equally successful. But I

cannot enter upon the particulars of what happened in that quarter, as I am not yet informed of them with sufficient certainty and precision. The morning was extremely foggy, which prevented our improving the advantages we gained so well as we should otherwise have done. This circumstance, by concealing from us the true situation of the enemy, obliged us to act with more caution and less expedition than we could have wished; and gave the enemy time to recover from the effects of our first impression; and, what was still more unfortunate, it served to keep our different parties in ignorance of each other's movements, and hindered their acting in concert. It also occasioned them to mistake one another for the enemy, which, I believe, more than any thing else, contributed to the misfortune that ensued. In the midst of the most promising appearances, when every thing gave the most flattering hopes of victory, the troops began suddenly to retreat, and entirely left the field, in spite of every effort that could be made to rally them.

“Upon the whole, it may be said the day was rather unfortunate than injurious. We sustained no material loss of men, and brought off all our artillery, except one piece which was dismounted. The enemy are nothing better by the event; and our troops, who are not in the least dispirited by it, have gained what all young troops gain by being in action. We have had, however, several valuable officers killed and wounded, particularly the latter. General Nash is among the wounded, and his life is despaired of. As soon as it is possible to obtain a return of our loss, I will transmit it. In justice to General Sullivan and the whole right wing of the army, whose conduct I had an opportunity of observing, as they acted immediately under my eye, I have the pleasure to inform

you that both officers and men behaved with a degree of gallantry that did them the highest honor. I have the honor to be, etc., etc."

In all his letters at this time he expresses himself as in good spirits. The position of Howe, indeed, was not very satisfactory, and in letters which the government of Massachusetts wrote to Franklin, with the great news of the surrender of Burgoyne, which happened about this time, they expressed their hopes, for which there was some foundation, that in their next despatches they might give an account of Howe's capitulation, which would be a good companion to the account they sent of Burgoyne. Letters from different officers in the American army show that this opinion was not a mere folly of success. In point of fact, however, Howe withdrew into the city of Philadelphia, and with a sort of characteristic laziness, amused himself there through the winter. Washington established his head-quarters at Valley Forge, where he could observe the city, and another of those long truces began, such as winter then brought upon war, and which are so little understood in the modern science of war.

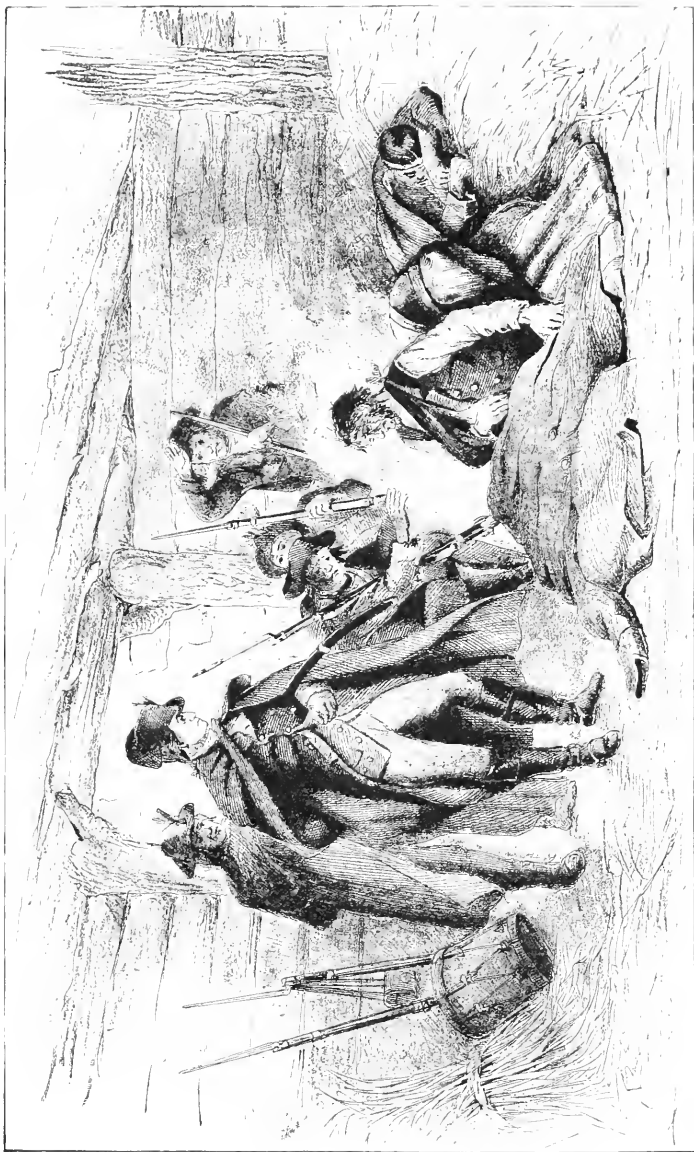
The success of Gates was enough to quicken all the plans and hopes of all the people who regarded Washington as indecisive and slow. The Conway cabal, as it is generally known, was the immediate result of Gates's success at Saratoga. Washington

describes it in a letter printed below. In Congress itself there were members so foolish or so wicked that they were willing to join in this cabal. On his own staff Washington had loyal and enthusiastic friends, young men who were quick to expose every detail of this affair ; and before the winter was over, his position with Congress was quite assured. Nor was he in any danger of a renewal of such complications from this time forward. Gates exchanged northern laurels for southern willows. Lee, never trustworthy, lost his manufactured prestige¹ in the summer of 1778, as we shall see later, and what would have perhaps called itself the "Anti-Dictator" party in Congress, was left without a chief to rally round.

Howe practically kept himself within the limits of Philadelphia. Conflicts between his foraging parties and Washington's light troops were the events of the winter. In one of these, "Light-Horse Harry,"² the son of Washington's old sweetheart, distinguished himself. The official recognition of his service was, of course, published at the time. A private note to Capt. Lee has, if we are right, never been published till now, and will interest the reader :

¹ It is to be observed that Lee was well "written up" in France. Hilliard d'Aubeiteuil's book, an amusing farrago of lies, is full of his imaginary exploits.

² The father of Gen. Robert E. Lee, of the Confederate army. Gen. Charles Lee was of an English family.



WASHINGTON AT VALLEY FORGE.

TO CAPT. HENRY LEE, FIRST DRAGOONS.

“VALLEY FORGE, 20 January, 1778.

“MY DEAR SIR:—Although I have given you my thanks in the General Orders of this day, for the late instance of your gallant behavior, I cannot resist the inclination I feel to repeat them again in this manner. I needed no fresh proof of your merit to bear you in remembrance; I waited only for the proper time and season to show it. These I hope are not far off. I shall also think of and will reward the merit of Lindsay, when an opening presents, as far as I can consistently; and I shall not forget the corporal, whom you have recommended to my notice. Offer my sincere thanks to the whole of your gallant party, and assure them that no one felt pleasure more sensibly, or rejoiced more sincerely, for your and their escape than

Your affectionate,

“G. W.”

In a letter to Congress, of March 1st, he asks a frank question in a straightforward way. It illustrates his difficulties:

TO THE COMMITTEE OF CONGRESS.

“VALLEY FORGE, 1 March, 1778.

“. . . Will Putnam or Heath do for the command at Rhode Island? If not, 't is hard to furnish tools that cannot be used and yet expect good workmanship from them. The appointment of general officers cannot be delayed without injury to the cause.”

In writing to Patrick Henry, on the 28th of March, he expresses himself freely regarding the Conway cabal:

“ . . . The anonymous letter with which you were pleased to favor me, was written by Dr. Rush, so far as I can judge, by a similitude of hands. This man has been elaborate and studied in his professions of regard for me, and long since the letter to you.

“ My caution to avoid any thing that could injure the service prevented me from communicating but to very few of my friends the intrigues of a faction which I knew was formed against me, since it might serve to publish an internal dissension. But their own artless zeal to advance their views has too clearly destroyed them, and made concealment on my part fruitless. I cannot precisely mark the extent of their views, but it appeared in general that Gen. Gates was to be exalted on the ruin of my reputation and influence. This I am authorized to say from undeniable facts in my own possession, from publications, the evident scope of which could not be mistaken, and from private detractions widely circulated. Gen. Mifflin, it is commonly supposed, bore the second part in the cabal, and Gen. Conway, I know, was a very active and malignant partisan, but I have good reasons to believe that their machinations have recoiled most sensibly upon themselves.”

Mr. Alexander, the neighbor who was so long in deciding what to do, appears again in a letter to young Custis.

“ VALLEY FORGE, 26 May, 1778.

“ With respect to your purchase of Mr. Robert Alexander's land, I can only say that the price you have offered for it is a very great one, but as you want it to live at, as it answers yours and Nelly's views, and is a pleasant seat, capable of improvement, I do not think the price

ought to be a capital object with you. But I am pretty sure that you and Alexander will never agree, for he is so much afraid of cheating himself, that if you were to offer him five thousand pounds more than he ever expected to get for his land, the dread of injuring himself, or the hope of getting more, would cause him first to hesitate and then to refuse; which leads me to think that the increasing of your offer, if you were disposed to do so, would answer no valuable end, nor bring you one whit nearer the mark." ¹

Before the spring of 1778 opened, General Howe, who had now been made Sir William Howe in honor of his success at Brooklyn, had dissatisfied the English government, and he also was withdrawn, as Gage had been before him. Henry Clinton, afterwards Sir Henry Clinton, was appointed in his place. Clinton had shown spirit at Bunker Hill; he had failed before Charleston, South Carolina; he had shown great decision and pluck in the North River, in an effort to co-operate with Burgoyne, and was the highest officer under Howe. He certainly was an able soldier, and originally he had a certain advantage, because he had known America from his childhood. It is matter of question, indeed, whether he were not born in the city of New York, where his father was, for many years, the provincial governor. It is interesting to observe that he was the near relative of Arabella Johnson, one of the saints in the Boston calendar, and one of the Puritan

¹ But Custis bought it. See G. W.'s letter, Aug. 3, 1778.

ladies of the first emigration to Massachusetts Bay. He was a spirited officer, and if he had had the absolute confidence of the people at home, he probably would have effected more than he did in America. His notes on the American campaign are very useful hints for the historian.

The English army had gone to Philadelphia for the sake of such prestige as might be gained by the capture of another city, and with the view of withdrawing Washington, as it did, from any co-operation with Gates against Burgoyne. Great censure attached to Howe afterwards in England, for going directly out of the way—disappearing, indeed, for months at sea, when Burgoyne was approaching from the north. Lord Shelburne even tells the very curious story that after his accession to power in 1781, he found in the pigeon-holes of his office the original despatches instructing Howe to move to the northward, which had never been sent to him because Lord George Germaine did not like the handwriting. Military men would probably even now doubt whether Howe's co-operation with Burgoyne was not as efficient when he withdrew half the enemy's force from him by his Southern movement, as it would have been had he moved in force to the north. But failure requires a victim, and in this case both Howe and Burgoyne were selected as the sacrifices at home.

Clinton now determined to return to New York,

marching across New Jersey. Washington was close behind him and, in the battle of Monmouth, attacked him with great prospect of success. His own account of the transaction is in the following letter :

TO JOHN AUGUSTINE WASHINGTON.

“BRUNSWICK, 4 July, 1778.

“DEAR BROTHER :—Before this will have reached you, the account of the battle of Monmouth will probably get to Virginia, which, from an unfortunate and bad beginning turned out a glorious and a happy day. . . .

“General Lee, having the command of the van of the army, consisting of full five thousand chosen men, was ordered to begin the attack next morning so soon as the enemy began their march, to be supported by me. But strange to tell, when he came up with the enemy, a retreat commenced, whether by his order or from other causes is now the subject of inquiry, and consequently improper to be descanted upon, as he is in arrest, and the court-martial is sitting for his trial. A retreat, however, was the fact, be the causes what they may, and the disorder arising from it would have proved fatal to the army, had not the bountiful Providence, which has never failed us in the hour of distress, enabled me to form a regiment or two (of those that were retreating) in the face of the enemy and under their fire ; by which means a stand was made long enough (the place through which the enemy were pursuing being narrow) to form the troops that were advancing upon an advantageous piece of ground in the rear. Here our affairs took a favorable turn, and, from being pursued, we drove the enemy back over the ground they had followed, and recovered the

field of battle and possessed ourselves of their dead. But as they retreated behind a morass very difficult to pass, and had both flanks secured with thick woods, it was found impracticable, with our men fainting from fatigue, heat, and want of water, to do any thing more that night. In the morning we expected to renew the action ; when, behold, the enemy had stolen off silently in the night, after having sent away their wounded. Getting a night's march ahead of us, and having but ten miles to a strong post, it was judged expedient not to follow them any farther, but to move towards the North River, lest they should have any designs upon our posts there. . . ."

As the reader sees, Washington believed that it was to Lee's misbehavior that the doubtful fortune of the battle was due. Lee was court-martialled, and never again saw service under Congress. The history of his gradual downfall from the very first is a curious one.

With the retreat, for it was such, of Clinton into New York, and such prestige as the American army gained by the doubtful battle of Monmouth, the campaign of 1778 in the field closed.

Meanwhile the treaty with France had enabled France to detach Count D'Estaing with a large fleet, for the assistance of the Americans, and great hopes were entertained, both in France and in America, for the result of this co-operation.

Those hopes were to a certain extent disappointed because they had been over-sanguine, although, as we now know, the presence of

D'Estaing's fleet paralyzed all the English naval operations. In fair battle between the two fleets off Newport, honors were at least evenly divided, and while the operations on shore at Rhode Island were very unsatisfactory to Washington and to the Americans generally, still the year passed by without any such success on the part of England as to give sufficient encouragement for the prosecution of the war into another season. One or two letters, which have never been published before, from Washington to the Count D'Estaing are curious. They show the confidence which the presence of the French fleet encouraged, and they give some interesting details of the conduct of the campaign.

When the fleet was to act near Rhode Island, he sent Greene to D'Estaing with the following letter :

“ Maj.-G. Greene, who is now quartermaster-general of our army, will have the honor of delivering to you this. Besides the military abilities of this gentleman, he is a native of the State of Rhode Island, and having always resided there till the commencement of the war, he is intimately acquainted with every part of it and with its navigation. From these circumstances, added to his weight and influence in that country, I have thought that his services might be of material importance in the intended enterprise against our common enemy. I commend him to your notice and attention, as a brave, intelligent, worthy officer, in whom you may place the utmost confidence.”

He wrote again to D'Estaing, September 18th :

“ . . . Deserters from the six ships of Lord Bryon’s fleet, which arrived at New York some time since, mention the extreme sickness of the crews of these ships. Some of them say that two thousand have been landed upon Staten Island, and are there in hospital huts. Perhaps this may be an exaggerated account; but from a variety of information, I am inclined to believe that an uncommon sickness has prevailed among them.”

In the private correspondence of the same autumn is a letter which shows how he was able, personally, to supply himself from the stores of the Egyptians, as the country had often done.

TO COL. COX OR JOHN MITCHELL, PHILADELPHIA,
D. Q. M.-GENERAL.

“FISHKILL, October 4, 1778.

“DEAR SIR:—I am informed that sundry goods in the military line addressed to James Rivington, New York, were taken, carried into Egg Harbor, and are now in Philadelphia; among them a complete set of camp equipage. As I am *perfectly incompleat* in this way, I should be glad if you would inquire into the truth of this matter, and make a purchase of it for me, if it answers the description and can be had upon terms not unreasonable. I am also informed that there are proper camp trunks, with straps, etc., two of which equal in size I should be glad to get, and a cut and thrust sword, genteel but not costly, with chain and swivels strong. . . .

“If there are any of Doland’s best pocket telescopes, be so good as to get one of these also, and send it to me as soon as you can.”

The following passages from a letter to his step-

son illustrate the care which he took of the property of the young man and his sister, and they are also of value in showing the difficulty of managing any property in the changes of value in the paper currency. Any person who has been taught to think that Washington had to call an aide when he wanted to express himself with vigor, may study to advantage the frankness of his letters to young Custis, and his son.

“FREDERICKSBURG, N. Y., October 10, 1778.

“ . . . The inference I meant to draw, and the advice I shall give in consequence of it, is this, that you do not convert the land you now hold into cash, faster than your present contract with Alexander, and a certain prospect of vesting it in other land more convenient, require of you. This will be treading on sure ground. It will enable you to discharge contracts already existing, and in effect exchange land for land. For it is a matter of moonshine to you, considered in that point of view, how much the money depreciates, if you can discharge one pound with another pound, and get land of equal value to that you sell. . . . [And at the end.] It may possibly be said that this is setting up a distinction between specie and paper, and will contribute to its depreciation. I ask if there is a man in the United States that does not make a distinction when five to one is the difference, and if it is in the power of an individual to check this when Congress and the several Assemblies are found unequal to the task. Not to require a contract for the actual payment in specie, but to keep this out of sight, as much as may be, in common cases, that are to have an immediate

operation, is all that can be expected ; but in a bargain that may exist for twenty years, there should be something to insure mutual advantage ; which advantages though any man can judge of it in the transactions of a day, no man can do it, when it is to be extended for years, under the present fluctuating state of paper bills of credit.

“ My design in being thus particular with you is to answer two purposes.

“ First to show my ideas of the impropriety of parting with your own lands,—farther than you can vest the money in other lands (comprehending those already purchased) ; and secondly to evince to you the propriety of my own conduct, in selling to myself, and your mother, the intrinsic value, neither more nor less, of the Dunn estate.

“ I have only one piece of advice more to give, and that is to aim rather at the exchange than sale of your lands, and I think among those gentlemen mentioned in former letters you may find chapmen.

“ I am with very sincere regard

“ Your affectionate friend and servant,

“ G. W.”

In the following letter to one of his neighbors in Virginia, he gives his feeling about the campaign as the autumn went on.

“ October 30, 1778.

“ We still remain in a disagreeable state of suspense respecting the enemy’s determinations. There are reasons for and against a total evacuation of New York. I ought rather to have said there are circumstances and evidence for and against it, for reason will allow no alternative, so

clearly does it point out the propriety of relinquishing their ideal project of bringing the United States to their terms. A few days must, I think, unfold their views, and as they have been and now are busily employed in embarking troops, stores, etc., most of which have fallen down to Sandy Hook, the West Indies is the supposed place of destination for the armament."

In fact, however, nothing decisive took place. The public were wretchedly disappointed by the failure of operations at Rhode Island. But some fortunate captures of stores intended for New York enabled the government of Massachusetts to fit out D'Estaing satisfactorily for his voyage to the West Indies. Clinton continued to maintain a merely defensive position at New York, and the year closed much more cheerfully for the American cause than it began.





CHAPTER X.

END OF THE WAR.

Necessary Inactivity of the Army—Clinton as Commander—Camp Table Ware—Letter to Count D'Estaing—Arrival of French Fleet—Accounts Given by French Officers—Arnold's Treason—Washington's Letters in Relation to it—Situation of the Army—Army Moves South from New York—Condition of Mt. Vernon—Army at Yorktown—Death of John Custis—Letter to Heath—Surrender of Cornwallis—Policy of English Government—Washington's Distrust—Henry Asgill—Officers of Continental Army.

THE years 1779 and 1780 are the years which have given to Washington his reputation as a "Fabian commander," who relied on what has since been called "a masterly inactivity." There is no Dorchester Heights, no Arnold's march, no Trenton or Princeton, no Brandywine or Germantown, and no Monmouth in their history. But in truth his quiet, or what appears his quiet on the record, was much more dictated to him by the inaction of the enemy, than by his own disposition. He saw too well the increasing incapacity of Congress, and the growing languor of the several State Assemblies, to trust with too much confidence to the alliance of time.

We know now that Clinton's orders were to maintain a defensive position. Why, it would be hard to say, unless one count it as a reason that Germaine was at the head of the department which gave him orders. Germaine is the Lord George Sackville, who had disgraced himself at Minden twenty years before, and who was the evil genius of George the III. Now if Clinton chose to keep himself and his army in the city of New York and on Staten Island, the nut was a very hard one to crack. From time to time Washington entertains a plan or a dream of some foray which is to insult him, or perhaps to drive him from the city. To this day there resounds in New England homes the refrain of a camp song of those days, which sings of

“A hunk of pudding and a pound of pork,
And we will go down and take New York”

There were bold plans projected for parties of men, who were to land at night and surprise and carry off one and another officer of the English army. There is a story that Alexander Hamilton crushed one of these plans, which had been made for the capture of Clinton. Hamilton said that they were better off with Clinton as the commander of the enemy, than they would be with any one who should take his place. For a joke it may be that Hamilton said so. And, in general, it is to be remembered that Washington never believed in

petty war or mere fretting annoyance under the name of war.

All parties now knew that they were at war. This appears oddly enough in mere domestic correspondence. Here is a letter from Middlebrook, in which Washington explains to the commissary-general how badly his table-ware appears.

GEN. WASHINGTON TO JOHN MITCHELL, ESQ.,
D. Q. M.-GEN., PHILADELPHIA.

“ CAMP AT MIDDLEBROOK, Feb. 17, 1779.

“ DEAR SIR :—My plates and dishes, once of tin, now little better than rusty iron, are rather too much worn for delicate stomachs in fixed and peaceable quarters, though they may yet serve in the busy and active movements of a campaign. I therefore desire that you will send me a set of queen’s china, if to be had. Not less I conceive than what follows of each article will do :

2 large tureens,
3 dozen dishes, sized,
8 dozen shallow plates,
3 dozen soup ditto,
8 table drinking mugs,
8 ditto salts, and some pickle plates ; the whole to be very carefully packed.

“ I also desire that you will send me six tolerably genteel but not expensive candlesticks, all of a kind, and three pairs of snuffers to them. I wish for as much fur as will edge a coat, waistcoat, and breeches ; and that it may be sent to me as soon as possible. Let this be accompanied by two pounds of starch.

“ Your nephew gave me the padlock keys of the two last

trunks sent, but not the other keys of them. It is not in my power, therefore (without spoiling the locks, which I am not disposed to do, as I shall deliver the trunks to General Greene, for his and Harrison's use), to get out the sheeting you procured for me. You will please to have inquiry made for the other keys, and to send them under cover by some safe conveyance.

"Let me know how many table-cloths you sent to me at different times, and by whom. No more than seven ever came to my hands, three at one time and four at another. I must request you to get me a good hat. If my old hatter, Parish, is furnished with materials, I would prefer one of his, as those already had from him have proved good, and he knows the size of my head. I do not wish by any means to be in the extreme of the fashion, either in the size or manner of cocking it. Please to examine if any of the enclosed tickets have come up prizes, and if any thing is to be made of them be so obliging as to do it for me. My compliments to Mrs. Mitchell."

And another set of letters, of which the following is a specimen, show their ill success in trying to find a set of queen's ware. Did poor Mrs. Washington, who was responsible for the hospitalities of head-quarters in mid-winter, look back with a sigh sometimes for the porcelain of Mount Vernon?

"At the same time I wrote to Mr. Mitchell for a set of queen's ware, consisting of the following articles :

- 2 large tureens,
- 3 dozen dishes, sized,
- 8 dozen shallow plates,

3 dozen soup ditto,
8 table drinking mugs,
8 ditto salts, and some pickle plates,

To which he gave the following answer on the 21st ultimo : ‘ I have made inquiry for a set of queen’s ware, but am afraid it will be difficult, if not impossible, to procure it. I will do all in my power to get them as quick as possible.’ Since which, nothing further has been said about them ; from whence I conclude my chance in that quarter is but indifferent. I, therefore, apply to you to procure them, as Lady Stirling informed me a few days ago that they were to be had at Brunswick. I am thus particular, lest you may know more of my dependence on Mitchell, than I do myself.”

As for table-cloths, it is certain that eleven had been sent somewhere, but only seven had arrived, If the reader will look at the postscript of this letter, he will be interested to see that Washington was not above wondering what had become of his lottery tickets. But unfortunately no answer shows what were his successes or failures.

It may here be observed that this is just an illustration of the sort of passages which the earlier biographers omit from his letters, in the absurd fear that he may lose the respect of those who read.

Some other private letters of this period show how many cares occupied him. Here is a letter to a nephew, who, as will be seen, had sadly misbehaved.

WASHINGTON TO CAPT. GEORGE LEWIS.

“ February 13, 1779

“ It is with concern and resentment I find, by the return of Colonel Bayler’s regiment, that you are again absent therefrom : nay, more, that you had left it while the command devolved upon you. I am sorry to add that these things reflect much discredit upon *you* as an officer, and involve me in the censure, for the natural presumption is, that such indulgences are the effect of partial proceeding from our connection.

“ With truth, I believe, it may be said that, in the course of the last fifteen months, you have scarcely been once with your regiment, and when ordered to join it, the latter part of last summer or fall, was shamefully tardy in obeying the order.

“ Immediately upon the receipt of this letter you will, I expect, join your regiment, and give that constant attendance on duty which is to be expected from a good officer.”

A careful letter, hitherto unpublished,—written in the autumn of 1779,—gives Washington’s own condensed account of the condition of affairs at that time.

WASHINGTON TO THE COUNT D’ESTAING.

“ HEAD-QUARTERS, WEST POINT, September 13, 1779.

“ SIR :—Having received intelligence which made it probable that a squadron of His Most Christian Majesty was approaching our coast, I thought it my duty to meet you with the earliest advice of the situation of the enemy in this quarter. Admiral Arbuthnot arrived at New York the 25th of last month with a reinforcement under his

convoy, consisting, from the best accounts I have been able to obtain, of about three thousand men, mostly recruits and in bad health. This makes the land force of the enemy at New York and its dependencies near fifteen thousand men, distributed in the following manner: On the Island of New York about 7,700; on Long Island about 5,000; on Staten Island about 1,000; at King's Ferry, up the North River, 45 miles from New York, about 2,000; and a small garrison at Powles Hook, a fortified peninsula on the Jersey shore opposite the city. This distribution is agreeable to the last advices; but the enemy's disposition undergoes very frequent changes and may have since altered. They have been for some time past drawing a line of works across New York Island, and have lately fortified Governor's Island near the city. They have also works on Staten Island, and are said to have begun a strong fort at Brooklyn, on Long Island.

"The best information of the naval force in the harbor of New York makes it one seventy-four, one sixty-four, two fiftys, and two or three frigates, with a few small armed vessels.

"The land force at Rhode Island is estimated between three and four thousand. There may be one or two frigates there.

"Sir George Collier sailed some time since on an expedition to the eastward of Boston. The force with him was composed of one vessel of the line, one forty-four gun-ship, and several smaller frigates and armed vessels. He has completed his object, but I have not heard of his return.

"If it is your Excellency's intention to operate against the enemy at New York, it will be infinitely interesting

that you should immediately enter the harbor and make such dispositions as will be best calculated to prevent a reunion of their force at a single point, which would make their reduction a matter of no small difficulty. If your Excellency has a land force, you will be able to judge in what manner it may be most usefully employed to intercept the detachments on Long and Staten Islands. From the situation of the former relatively to New York, it will not be easy to intercept the troops there, because the enemy can throw their troops from one to the other at pleasure ; and your ships could not conveniently lie in the East River to cut off the communication. It is not improbable the enemy's fleet will endeavor to take shelter in this river. It will also be of importance to run two or three frigates up the North River into Haverstraw Bay, to obstruct the retreat of the garrison at King's Ferry by water ; and I should be happy these frigates may announce themselves by firing a number of guns in quick succession, which will put it in my power to push down a body of troops below the garrison on the east side to intercept a retreat by land to King's Bridge. This will also answer the purpose of giving me earlier advice of your arrival than I could obtain in any other way. But some caution will be necessary in the passage of these frigates up the river, as there have been some *chevaux-de-frise* sunk opposite Fort Washington, which has given a partial obstruction to the channel. Your Excellency will probably be able to capture some seamen who will be acquainted with the navigation of the river in its present state.

“To prevent the retreat of any part of the enemy through the Sound, it will be useful to detach a few ships round to take a convenient station there. These may answer

another object, to hinder the evacuation of Rhode Island; either to form a junction with the main body, or withdraw to a place of security and avoid falling into your hands. The detachment for this purpose need not be greater than to be a full match for Sir George Collier.

“I have taken the liberty to throw out these hints for your Excellency’s information, and permit me to entreat that you will favor me, as soon as possible, with an account of your Excellency’s intention, and the land force under your command, which will help me to judge what additional succor it may be expedient to draw from the country, and what other measures ought to be taken for a perfect co-operation. I also entreat your Excellency’s sentiments on the manner of this co-operation, and you may depend upon every exertion in my power to promote the success of an enterprise from which such decisive advantages may be expected to the common cause.

“I sincerely congratulate you on your glorious victories in the West Indies, in which no one takes greater interest than myself, as well from motives of personal attachment as a concern for the common cause.

“I have the honor to be, with the most perfect respect and esteem,

Your Excellency’s, etc.,

“G. WASHINGTON.

“P. S.—Major Lee, who will have the honor of delivering these dispatches, is an officer of intelligence and judgment, in whose information your Excellency may place great confidence. He will be happy to execute any orders with which you may be pleased to honor him.”

With the beginning of 1780, the French court had determined on more active measures, and all

parties knew that a French fleet with an army of nearly five thousand men was to be sent early in the year to America. This prospect alone modified everybody's plans. Clinton hardly dared go outside his shell, and Washington did not mean to strike until he had the help of his allies. In fact, however, though Ternay with the French fleet, and Rochambeau with the army, sailed in the middle of April, they did not arrive in Newport until the 10th of July. The French army was reduced by scurvy and other sickness after its long voyage. The fleet was only seven ships of the line and two frigates, quite inferior to the English fleet; but a second and very large contingent was promised. More waiting ensued, till this second contingent should arrive. But it never did arrive. The English government, for once, was quicker than their enemies, and blockaded this magnificent fleet in Brest. This is the reason why nothing came of the great combination in the summer of 1780.

For us, who are trying to find out, by whatever indications, what manner of man Washington was, the arrival of the French contingent has a special value, secondary indeed, but important. For these Frenchmen could write entertaining memoirs, vivid and suggestive. No Americans of the Revolutionary time had that power. So it is that we owe to these elegant French officers, not only our brightest but our most intelligible accounts of life at head-

quarters, and especially of him who was the centre of the whole. It is very interesting to see that Washington did not disappoint them. On the other hand, though they had formed a perfectly romantic ideal of this western chieftain, he surprised them by his dignity, his affability, and his resource. It would seem that he was much more of a gentleman than they had expected. The following passages from Chastellux, a nobleman of high rank, who had so far distinguished himself in literature that he was already one of the forty of the French Academy, is his account of his first visit at head-quarters :

“ M. de la Lafayette was in conversation with a tall man, five feet nine inches high (about five feet ten inches and a half English)¹, of a noble and mild countenance. It was the General himself. I was soon off horseback and near him. The compliments were short ; the sentiments with which I was animated, and the good wishes he testified for me, were not equivocal. He conducted me to his house, where I found the company still at table, although the dinner had been long over.

“ A fresh dinner was prepared for me and mine ; and the present was prolonged to keep me company. A few glasses of claret and Madeira accelerated the acquaintances I had to make, and I soon felt myself at my ease, near the greatest and best of men. The goodness and benevolence which characterize him are evident from every thing about him ; but the confidence he gives birth to never occasions improper familiarity, for the sentiment

¹ Washington himself says, in a letter ordering clothes, that he is six feet high.

he inspires has the same origin in every individual,—a profound esteem for his virtues, and a high opinion of his talents.”

The next year Chastellux writes :

“At our return we found a good dinner ready, and about twenty guests, among whom were Generals Howe and Sinclair. The repast was in the English fashion, consisting of eight or ten large dishes of butcher’s meat and poultry, with vegetables of several sorts, followed by a second course of pastry, comprised under the two denominations of pies and puddings. After this the cloth was taken off, and apples and a great quantity of nuts were served, which General Washington usually continues eating for two hours, proposing toasts and conversing all the time. These nuts are small and dry, and have so hard a shell that they can only be broken by the hammer ; they are served half open, and the company are never done picking and eating them. The conversation was calm and agreeable ; his Excellency was pleased to enter with me into the particulars of some of the principal operations of the war, but always with a modesty and conciseness which proved that it was from pure complaisance he mentioned it. About half past seven we rose from table, and immediately the servants came to shorten it and convert it into a round one ; for at dinner it was placed diagonally to give more room. I was surprised at this manœuvre, and asked the reason of it ; I was told they were going to lay the cloth for supper. In half an hour I retired to my chamber, fearing lest the General might have business, and that he remained in company only on my account ; but at the end of another half hour, I was informed that his Excellency expected me at supper. I re-

turned to the dining-room, protesting against this supper; but the General told me he was accustomed to take something in the evening; that if I would be seated, I should only eat some fruit and assist in the conversation.¹ I desired nothing better, for there were then no strangers, and nobody remained but the General's family. The supper was composed of three or four light dishes, some fruit, and above all, a great abundance of nuts, which were as well received in the evening as at dinner. The cloth being soon removed, a few bottles of good claret and madeira were placed on the table. Every sensible man will be of my opinion: that being a French officer, under the orders of General Washington, and what is more, a good Whig, I could not refuse a glass of wine offered me by him; but I confess that I had little merit in this complaisance, and that less accustomed to drink than anybody, I accommodate myself very well to the English mode of toasting: you have very small glasses; you pour out yourself the quantity of wine you choose, without being pressed to take more; and the toast is only a sort of check in the conversation, to remind each individual that he forms a part of the company, and that the whole form only one society. I observed that there was more solemnity in the toasts at dinner: there were several ceremonial ones; the others were suggested by the General, and given out by his aides-de-camp, who performed the honors of the table at dinner; for one of them is every day seated at the bottom of the table, near the General, to serve the company and distribute the bottles."

In the midst of visits and correspondence, back-

¹ The more recent criticism of travellers has been that Americans hurry their meals. But all the French officers speak as if their hosts spent most of the time at table.

ward and forward, the great dramatic event of the year took place,—the treason of Arnold. It is not needful, for the purpose of this book, to describe this event again, nor to point out the curious and critical turns which give to the history all the points demanded for the Greek drama. The discovery of the whole comes within the few hours in which a play might be put upon the stage, and it is by the turn of a straw that Arnold escapes with his life. The following accounts of it, one written by Washington to Heath, and one to Jefferson, are of interest, as showing how it affected him, at the moment.

To Jefferson, then Governor of Virginia, Washington wrote :

“ HEAD-QUARTERS, NEAR PASSAIC FALLS, Oct. 10, 1780.

“ You[r Excellency] will have heard, probably before this reaches you, of the perfidy of Major-Gen. Arnold. On the 25th of September he went to the enemy: He had entered very deeply into a combination with them, as far as we can judge, for putting them in possession of the important post of West Point, where he commanded, and the command of which he had solicited. For this purpose he had contrived an interview with Major André, adjutant-general to their army, on the night of the 21st, and delivered to him a copy of a state of matters which I had laid before a council of general officers on the 6th of September. An estimate of the force at West Point and its dependencies, of men to man the works at West Point, remarks on those works, a return of ordnance at West Point and its dependencies, artillery orders for the

disposition of the corps in case of an alarm at West Point, a permit to Major André, under the assumed name of John Anderson, to pass our guards. This officer, with all those papers in Arnold's hand-writing, was taken by a most extraordinary and providential intervention of circumstances, under the assumed name of John Anderson, and in a disguised habit, about fifteen miles from the enemy's outpost and King's Bridge, by a small militia patrol, who acted with great virtue upon the occasion, as he was returning to New York; having been all the night of the 21st and next day in the vicinity of our posts at Stoney and Verplanck's Points, and passed by them the night preceding his capture. Arnold got information of the event on the morning of the 25th before it was known to any of the officers under his command, or any in authority, and pushed down the river in a barge to the *Tul-ture*, sloop of war, which lay a few miles below Stoney Point. Major André was tried by a board of general officers, and on his free and voluntary confession and letters, was sentenced to suffer death, agreeable to the practice and usage of nations in like cases, which he has accordingly suffered. He acted with great candour, after he avowed himself, until he was executed. Your Excellency will probably see the whole of the proceedings in his case published. We have no doubt now, whatever may be the future objects and measures of the enemy, that the primary and principal design of the embarkation they were making, was to take West Point, which, through the preconcerted arrangements between them and Mr. Arnold, in all human probability, would have inevitably fallen into their hands, and most likely in the course of a few days after the discovery. The enemy have not laid aside, from the accounts I continue to receive, their prep-

arations for an expedition, and must now mean to make a push in some other more remote quarter. Hence your Excellency will perceive that they leave nothing unessayed to carry their point; but I trust there are more than abundant virtue, as well as means in our hands, if these are properly directed, to withstand and baffle easily all their most vigorous and artful efforts."

To Heath, who was to replace Arnold, he wrote the following letter. Heath was, at this time, with Rochambeau, to whom he had made himself very agreeable.

" ROBINSON'S HOUSE, 26 September, 1780.

" Major-General Arnold has gone to the enemy. He had an interview with Major André, adjutant-general of the British army, and had put into his possession a statement of our army, of the garrison at this post, of the number of men considered as necessary for the defence of it, a return of the ordnance, and the disposition of the artillery corps in case of an alarm. By a most providential interposition, Major André was taken on returning to New York, with all those papers in General Arnold's handwriting, who, hearing of the matter, kept it secret, and left his quarters immediately, under the pretence of going to West Point on Monday forenoon, about an hour before my arrival; then pushed down the river in the barge, which was not discovered till I had returned from West Point in the afternoon; and when I received the first information of Major André's captivity, measures were instantly taken to apprehend General Arnold; but, before the officers, sent for the purpose, could reach Verplanck's Point, he had passed it with a flag, and got on board the *Vulture*, ship of war, which lay a few miles be-

low. He knew of my approach, and that I was visiting, with the Marquis, the north and middle redoubts, and from this circumstance was so straitened in point of time, that I believe he carried with him very few if any material papers, though he has a very precise knowledge of the affairs of the post. The gentlemen of General Arnolds' family,¹ I have the greatest reason to believe, were not privy in the least degree to the measures he was carrying on, nor to his escape. I am, dear sir, with very great esteem and regard, your, etc., etc."

Rochambeau's force was too much reduced by sickness for any active operations in 1780. The second French fleet, as the reader knows, did not arrive. The autumn and winter therefore wore away without important movement.

On the first of May, 1781, Washington began a military journal. The following is a brief statement of the situation of the army at that time :

"I begin at this epoch a concise journal of military transactions, etc. I lament not having attempted it from the commencement of the war, in aid of my memory; and wish the multiplicity of matter which continually surrounds me, and the embarrassed state of our affairs, which is momentarily calling the attention to perplexities of one kind or another, may not defeat altogether, or so interrupt my present intention and plan, as to render it of little avail.

"To have clearer understanding of the entries which

¹ Colonel Franks and Colonel Varick were General Arnold's aides-de-camp, but they had no knowledge or suspicion of his treasonable designs, till he had escaped to the enemy.

may follow, it would be proper to recite, in detail, our wants and our prospects; but this alone would be a work of much time and great magnitude. It may suffice to give the sum of them, which I shall do in a few words, viz.:

“Instead of having magazines filled with provisions, we have a scanty pittance scattered here and there in the different States.

“Instead of having our arsenals well supplied with military stores, they are poorly provided, and the workmen all leaving them. . . . Instead of having the various articles of field equipage in readiness to deliver, the quartermaster-general is but now applying to the several States (as the *dernier ressort*) to provide these things for their troops respectively. Instead of having a regular system of transportation established upon credit . . . or funds in the quartermaster's hands to defray the contingent expenses of it . . . we have neither the one nor the other; and all that business, or a great part of it, being done by military impressment, we are daily and hourly oppressing the people, souring their tempers, and alienating their affections. Instead of having the regiments completed to the new establishments (and which ought to have been so by the . . . of . . . , agreeable to the requisitions of Congress, scarce any State in the Union has, at this hour, one eighth part of its quota in the field; and there is little prospect that I can see of ever getting more than half. In a word, instead of having every thing in readiness to take the field, we have nothing. And instead of having the prospect of a glorious offensive campaign before us, we have a bewildered and gloomy prospect of a defensive one; unless we should receive a powerful aid of ships, land troops

and money from our generous allies, and these at present are too contingent to build upon."

In this year, however, the movement which had been hoped for in 1780 became possible. Under the Count DeGrasse, a French fleet arrived in the West Indies, sufficient to meet the English fleet in Atlantic waters with some prospect of success. Immediately on this being made certain, Washington and Rochambeau determined on that prompt movement by which they hemmed in Cornwallis at Yorktown, and brought the war to an end. Washington himself wrote the most ardent letters to DeGrasse to press him to join in this combination, and his arrival just in time, in the Chesapeake, was one of the dramatic incidents of the war. One of the French writers, describing the rapid march of the army southward from New York, says that when Washington received the news he turned back to tell it to Rochambeau, and as he waited for the ferry-boat to cross, he signified by his gestures his pleasure in the great success. He waved his hat in exultation and joy. No child could have shown more gladly his delight at some great surprise.

On their way south, he spent one full day at Mount Vernon, and here he entertained the French gentlemen. It was the first time he had been in his own house for more than six years. He apologized to them for the lack of order which they had observed on that account. But Chastellux is

careful to say that he regarded every thing as in very perfect condition. He alludes particularly to the care with which Washington had kept up, by correspondence, his management of affairs at home.

Every thing moved on in the neighborhood of Yorktown almost exactly as they could have wished. There were certainly times of anxiety, and Washington was obliged to overpersuade the French admiral to remain where he was, so absolutely necessary was his position there ; while the Frenchman was desirous to go elsewhere. But his personal power and that of Rochambeau availed, and the fleet kept the blockade of the Chesapeake, although they were tempted out for an action with the English fleet which appeared on the outside. Day by day the successful advances of the combined army were made, and all the American soldiers had an opportunity of seeing war on the large scale, while up to this time there had scarcely been an action, in which they had been engaged, which could be reduced to the rules of European warfare.

Washington's own confidential letters to Heath are interesting, as showing briefly how these advances came forward. The great surrender followed. It is matter of history, and we need not go into the details of it. But it is one of the pathetic things of human life, that at the time when the whole of America was rejoicing in the great

success, Washington himself was anxiously watching the sickness of John Custis, his adopted son. Young Custis had joined the army but just before, and he arrived only in time to contract a fever, of which, on the 5th day of November, he died. Washington's own correspondence during these days is of the very briefest, and the reason is, that he was occupied in what was, to him, a terrible personal distress, at the time when the whole country was rejoicing.

WASHINGTON TO HEATH.

"I have not leisure to give a particular account of our proceedings: it must suffice to inform you that, after assembling all the troops at Williamsburg, and making the necessary arrangements, the allied army moved on the 28th of September, and took post in the neighborhood of York that night. The enemy gave us no annoyance on the march. A body of horse, that was paraded in front of the works, retired upon our firing a few shot among them.

"The 29th was spent in reconnoitring, and taking a position as near the advanced works as could be done without placing the encampments directly in the range of the enemy's shot. Some skirmishing happened between our riflemen and the Yagers, in which the former had the advantage. At night, the enemy abandoned all their outposts (some of which were very advantageous), and retired to the town. Yesterday morning we occupied the same ground, and last night made some lodgments at a short distance from the lines.

"The horses and teams are beginning to arrive from the

northward. The heavy artillery will be brought up as soon as possible, and the siege pushed with vigor, as I have no idea that Lord Cornwallis will surrender so respectable a force as he has under his command, unless he is compelled by dire necessity."

It was, indeed, remarkable, that the three great successes of the Revolution were, each in its field, complete. Nothing was left on that field to do. When Howe evacuated Boston in 1776, he took every English soldier from New England out of the country. When Burgoyne surrendered in 1777, he gave up his whole army. And in the great surrender of Cornwallis another whole army was made prisoners of war. The dramatic or critical character of such events affected the public opinion of Europe—especially of England. The number of men engaged bore no comparison with those which have made up the history of the wars of Frederic and Maria Theresa. But the completeness of the event, when it came, had all the precision, and wrought the impression, of the close of a tragedy.

It happened, probably from this cause, that English statesmen of all parties knew that the war was over. Lord North himself, "as if he had been hit by a ball," struck both hands on his breast and cried, "All is over!" And we now know that it was.

But in America there was no such certainty. What men knew was that Clinton was recalled

my and Sir George Carleton transferred from Canada to New York. Men did not know that he was transferred with instructions simply to hold the posts until peace was made. In fact, his instructions were of the conciliatory character. The policy of the English government now was to detach the Americans from the French; and the step-mother, who had been so cruel but a year before, was really fawning now in her effort to regain the lost affections of her children. In all this Washington saw the treachery which was, in fact, involved, and the year 1782 was for him an anxious one. It ought to be said, however, that in his correspondence with the governors of the States, and with other members of such executive as there was in America, he succeeded, to a certain extent, in conveying the impression of his own doubts, and thus was able to keep up at least a decent military establishment, watching for any sudden movement on the part of the enemy, whom he had learned to distrust so thoroughly. It is fair, perhaps, to say, in passing, that that distrust has never, to this moment, thoroughly left the American mind.

A very delicate matter, which has worked its way even into romance, was one of the minor difficulties of the winter of 1781-2. The brutal acts of barbarity on the part of some English troops, who affected to be American loyalists, in

New Jersey, had compelled a threat of retaliation from Washington, or the officers under his command. He had notified Sir Henry Clinton that if a certain Lippincott was not given up to him for punishment, he would execute upon some prisoner of the English army in his possession the same measure as that by which Lippincott had disgraced himself. A court of inquiry held by the English commander pronounced their disapprobation of Lippincott's act, but found him innocent, as acting under superior command. It was an early case of that double opinion which Mr. Lowell has satirized since as the opinion of people who were in favor of a certain law, but against enforcing it. This court-martial disapproved the act, but found the actor innocent. Washington was committed to the threat of retaliation. Lots were drawn among the English prisoners, and the lot fell upon a boy, only nineteen years old, named Henry Asgill, an officer in the guards. For months the poor fellow's life seemed to hang upon a thread. But peace was impending, and there was probably never any real intention on the part of the Americans to execute the threat, as they might have done in perfect justice and honor. Asgill wrote home to his mother, and his mother entreated everybody in Europe; everybody in Europe entreated Franklin, and Congress, and Washington; and Asgill, as an act of mercy, was discharged.

The discharge was undoubtedly helped by the combined verdict of the court of inquiry which had been held. The transaction was one which, in critical times, might perhaps have escaped the observation of the historian. But, as it happened at the time when every one was singing pæans of peace, it engaged more general attention and has claimed a place in history.¹

At the end of the year, when it was clear that the war was over, the officers of the Continental line, had been absent from home for seven years. They had been paid most of that time in paper, constantly depreciating, were about to return home poor men, and were naturally uneasy as to the promises made to them by a Congress which had done little but promise. The truth is, that their real ground of complaint was against the Constitution of their country. It was not against the particular men in Congress who were unfortunate enough to be at once the legislative and the executive of that country. In point of fact, as we know now, this executive had no power, and was merely the shadow of a name. But it professed power, it made war, it made peace, it issued proclamations, and why should it not pay its debts? The

¹ Here is a curious note of Asgill's, which we print from his autograph, written in London the next year :

“ In answer to your question if the Americans put me in irons during the time of my confinement, for their sake as well as mine, I have the satisfaction to inform you that they never did.
HENRY ASGILL.”

answer, alas, was, that it had nothing with which to pay them.

It was in that irritation which is natural to any man who has been refused payment of his honest debt, year in and out, by a person who, at the time, affects to be in command of millions, that the officers of the army were called upon, by an unknown hand, to unite in compelling justice. In the printed appeal which was circulated among them, the strong proposal was made that they should not lay down their arms "until they had gained some security for their rights." This appeal is generally known as the "Newburgh address." It is now known that it was the work of Armstrong of the line. The most striking passage in it is in the following words :

"If this, then, be your treatment while the swords you wear are necessary for the defence of America, what have you to expect from peace, when your voice shall sink, and your strength dissipate by division; when those very swords, the instruments and companions of your glory, shall be taken from your sides, and no remaining mark of military distinction left but your wants, infirmities, and scars? Can you then consent to be the only sufferers by this revolution, and retiring from the field, grow old in poverty, wretchedness, and contempt? Can you consent to wade through the vile mire of dependency, and owe the miserable remnant of that life to charity, which has hitherto been spent in honor? If you can . . . go . . . and carry with you the jest of Tories and the scorn of

Whigs . . . the ridicule, and what is worse, the pity of the world. Go, starve, and be forgotten! but if your spirit should revolt at this; if you have sense enough to discover, and spirit enough to oppose, tyranny under whatever garb it may assume—whether it be the plain coat of republicanism, or the splendid robe of royalty; if you have not yet learned to discriminate between a people and a cause, between men and principles . . . awake; attend to your situation, and redress yourselves. If the present moment be lost, every future effort is in vain; and your threats then, will be as empty as your entreaties now.”

So soon as this appeal was placed in Washington’s hands, he met it by one of his most vigorous addresses. He said in it :

“My God! what can this writer have in view, by recommending such measures? can he be a friend to the army? can he be a friend to this country? rather is he not an insidious foe; some emissary, perhaps, from New York, plotting the ruin of both, by sowing the seeds of discord and separation between the civil and military powers of the continent? and what a compliment does he pay to our understandings, when he recommends measures, in either alternative, impracticable in their nature?”

Still, the author of the anonymous appeal affected to consider that the malcontents had gained some support from the commander-in-chief; and, in a very clever second address, implied that they had thus made him commit himself to some vigorous appeal on their side. But when the day of the meeting came, it was very clear how Washington

and those under his influence regarded any appeal to sedition. It is at this moment that the American revolution separates itself from nearly all similar passages of history. Here is one throne which is not built upon bayonets. Here is one army which, with the only power the country had in its hands, surrendered that power and left the country to learn the lesson of anarchy. In the next four years, the country learned that lesson as no country had learned it before. Without any military force on the right hand or on the left to tempt it into the folly of a military usurpation, the four years were hard years, but the lesson was well learned; and constitutional liberty has been possible from that hour to this, simply because that army did not keep its sword in its hand, for the purpose of enforcing the rights which certainly were its own.

The tone of the resolutions passed by the officers may be understood from the last :

“ Resolved unanimously, that at the commencement of the present war the officers of the American army engaged in the service of their country from the purest love and attachment to the rights and liberties of human nature, which motives still exist in the highest degree; and that no circumstances of distress or danger shall induce a conduct that may tend to sully the reputation and glory which they have acquired at the price of their blood and eight years' faithful services.”

These proceedings of the army produced a con-

currence of nine States in Congress in favor of a resolution commuting the half pay into a sum in gross equal to five years' full pay. But the value of this resolution depended on the success of requisitions and of applications to the respective States to place permanent funds in the power of Congress.

The winter, at last, having passed by, news of the long-delayed peace was received. It had been deferred by the English intrigues, which had attempted a peace with America, while there should still be war with France. But Franklin was firm on this matter, and he had compelled Congress to be firm. The commissioners in France never gave way, and the English ministry found itself at last compelled to make peace at once, with the United States, with France, and with Spain.

Washington's correspondence with the English commanders, which began with his note to Gage, in 1775, which drew out a reply so insolent from that officer, ends with a cordial and courteous note, which he addresses to Sir Guy Carleton, on the eve of his embarkation from New York.

Washington himself was called to attend on Congress, which was sitting in Princeton, New Jersey. It had been obliged to remove from Philadelphia by the mutiny of the soldiers of the Pennsylvania Line. From August to November, therefore, Washington lived with Mrs. Washington and a part of his military family at Rocky Hill,

about four miles from Princeton. On the 2d of November he issued from this place his farewell address to the armies ; on the 14th he conferred with Governor Clinton, of New York, and made arrangements to enter the city from which they had both been driven seven years before. On the morning of the 25th a column of Americans under Knox marched to the Bowery Lane and halted at the point where the Cooper Institute now stands. They remained there until one o'clock in the afternoon, when the English left their posts and marched to Whitehall, the extreme southern point of the city. The American army followed, and before three o'clock Knox took formal possession of Fort George. For more than a week brilliant festivities followed. It is at this point that an amusing incident took place, which comes into Mr. Custis's somewhat mythical recollections, but probably has certain foundation in fact. Washington's secret service was always admirably administered, and it is probably true that, through the war, he had Rivington in his pay. Rivington was known to the country as being the chief malinger of the American cause. Mr. Custis's story is, that, after the group of officers had stopped at Rivington's, Washington withdrew into the back-shop to "look at some books on agriculture" ; that the clink of guineas was then heard, and that the aides believed that this was a part payment for secret

service which Rivington had rendered, during the war.

On Thursday, the 4th of September, the principal officers of the army met at Fraunce's tavern to take leave of Washington. He entered the room where they waited, and taking a glass of wine, he said : " With a heart full of love and gratitude I now take leave of you. I most devoutly wish that your latter days may be as prosperous and happy as your former ones have been glorious and honorable." After drinking he said : " I cannot come to each of you to take my leave ; but I shall be obliged to you if each will come and take me by the hand." Knox stood next to him. He turned and grasped his hand, and Washington kissed him, while the tears flowed down the cheeks of each. He bade good-by to each officer in the same way as they passed him. Then passing between lines of light infantry, he walked in silence to Whitehall, and in a barge crossed the river on his way to Annapolis. From New York to Annapolis his progress was a triumphal march. Voluntary escorts of citizens and soldiers accompanied him, and he was everywhere greeted by testimonials of the people's regard. At every capital the State legislatures presented addresses to him, and so did the philosophical societies, the citizens of towns, religious societies, and other associations.

At Annapolis a great ceremonial was arranged

for his resignation. The act in itself was dramatic, the arrangements made for it were dignified, and his resignation is still remembered among the critical moments of his life. A picture by Trumbull, in the Capitol at Washington, commemorates it, and his address has been widely circulated. One of the closing passages is in these words :

“ Having now finished the work assigned me, I retire from the great theatre of action, and bidding an affectionate farewell to this august body, under whose orders I have so long acted, I here offer my commission, and take my leave of all the employments of public life.”¹

The next day he reached Mount Vernon, having been in command of the army more than eight and a half years. In that time he had seen his home only when he visited it with Count de Rochambeau, and on his return from Yorktown.

¹ It is, perhaps, not beneath the dignity of history to record that, at the present moment, one of the jokes of the Naval Academy at Annapolis is to say that Washington endured all the terrors of the war, the starvation of Valley Forge, and every intricacy of politics ; but that when he came to so dull a place as Annapolis he was obliged to give up his commission.





CHAPTER XI.

HOME REVISITED.

Return to Mt. Vernon—National Government—Army Views—Institution of Society of the Cincinnati—Letters to Maj.-Gen. Greene, on this Subject—Letter to Jefferson—His Portrait Painted for Count de la Solms—Letter to Count d'Estaing—Jewel Presented by French Seamen—Letter to Robert Morris Concerning Bushrod Washington—Journey to Western Lands—Letter to the Commandant at Pittsburg—Letter to Tench Tilghman about Greenhouse—Lafayette's Visit—Letter to Chastellux—Western Tour with Lafayette—Letter about Horse for "Little Washington."

IT was a good omen which brought Washington to Annapolis on Christmas Eve. "I entered these doors an older man by near nine years than when I left them. Since that period we have been often locked up in frost and snow, and excluded, in a manner, from all kinds of intercourse." Thus he writes to Lafayette, with whom his correspondence has always a tender and friendly tone :

"I am become a private citizen, my dear Marquis. On the banks of the Potomac, and under the shadow of my own vine and my own fig-tree, free from the bustle of a camp and the busy scenes of public life, I am solacing myself with those tranquil enjoyments which the soldier, who is ever in pursuit of fame; the statesman, whose

watchful days and sleepless nights are spent in devising schemes to promote the welfare of his own, perhaps the ruin of other countries, as if this globe were insufficient for us all; and the courtier, who is always watching the countenance of his prince in hopes of catching a gracious smile, can have very little conception."

In the same letter he says to Lafayette that he is expecting in a few days a visit from the Governor of Virginia. He also thanks Lafayette for a kind invitation to his house if he should come to France, but he says :

"I see but little prospect of such a voyage. The deranged situation of my private concerns, occasioned by an absence of nearly nine years, and the entire disregard of all private business during that period, will not only suspend, but may put it forever out of my power to gratify this wish. This not being the case with you, come with Madame de Lafayette and view me in my domestic walks. I have often told you, and repeat it again, that no man could receive you in them with more friendship and affection than I should do, in which, I am sure, Mrs. Washington would cordially join me. We unite in respectful compliments to your lady, and the best wishes for your little flock."

Writing to Lafayette again in April, he says :

"Your favor of November to me, and of December to Congress, both announce your intention to make us a visit this spring. On this hope I shall fully rely, and shall ardently long for the moment in which I can embrace you in America. Nothing could add more to the pleasure of this interview than the happiness of seeing



MOUNT VERNON.

Madame de Lafayette with you, that I might have the honor of thanking her in person for the flattering letter she has been pleased to write me, and to assure her of the sincerity of my wishes and those of Mrs. Washington, that she can make Mount Vernon her home while she stays in America. Lest I should be disappointed of this gratification, I accompany this letter with another to the Marchioness; and if I could express to her half what I feel upon the occasion, it would, if twenty years could be taken from the number of my days, make you diligent at your post."

And to the Marchioness he writes:

"Great as your claims as a French or American woman, or as the wife of my amiable friend, to my affectionate regards, you have others to which the palm must be yielded. The charms of your person and the beauties of your mind have a more powerful operation. These, Madame, have endeared you to me, and every thing which partakes of your nature will have a claim to my affections. George and Virginia, the offspring of your love, whose names do honor to my country and to myself, have a double claim, and will have the best of my vows.

"Mrs. Washington is highly honored by your invitations, and feels very sensibly the force of your polite invitation to Paris, but she is too far advanced in life,¹ and is too much immersed in the care of her little progeny, to cross the Atlantic.

"This, my dear Marchioness, indulge the freedom, is not the case with you. You have youth, and if you should not incline to bring your children, can leave them

¹ Mrs. Washington was now fifty-two years old.

with all the advantages of education, and must have a curiosity to see the country, young, rude, and uncultivated as it is, for the liberties of which your husband has fought, bled, and acquired much glory, where everybody admires, everybody loves him. Come, then, let me entreat you, and call my cottage your home, for your own doors do not open to you with more readiness than mine would. You will see the plain manner in which we live, and meet with respectful civility, and you shall taste the simplicity of rural life. It will diversify the scene, and may give you higher relish for the gayeties of the court when you return to Versailles."

In a letter to Dr. Craik, written as early as March, 1784, he speaks of the prospect before him, as to his biography.

"I will frankly declare to you, my dear doctor, that any memoirs of my life, distinct and unconnected with the general history of the war, would rather hurt my feelings, than tickle my pride, whilst I live. I had rather glide gently down the stream of time, leaving it to posterity to say and think what they please of me, than, by any act of mine, to have vanity or ostentation imputed to me. It is for this reason and candor, and a desire to be explicit, that I stipulate against the publication of the memoirs Mr. Bowe has in contemplation to give the world, till I should see more probability of avoiding the darts which I think would be pointed at me upon such an occasion."

It is hardly necessary here to go far into the discussion, which excited a good deal of public attention in certain quarters, as to the Society of Cincinnati. It is enough, perhaps, to say that many men

not of the army were jealous of the society. They were afraid that it would create a class of hereditary patricians. Mr. Jefferson disliked it, all civilians disliked it, and the sentimental and theoretical friends of liberty in France disliked it. The correspondence regarding it, which still exists in manuscript, has a certain historical curiosity, but it should be studied by itself, and scarcely belongs to the life of Washington. In one letter, he gives, in some detail, his views as to the amendment which should be made in the original constitution — and these views were quite closely adopted in the final arrangement made for the society. As all America knows, it has proved a most harmless institution, while in those States which have maintained it, it has done a respectable work in the maintenance of some charities.

It combined for social, and indeed charitable, purposes, the Continental officers; somewhat as the "Grand Army of the Republic" now unites all who enlisted in the War of the Union. To Washington's intelligent counsels it was due that every thing which could really challenge jealousy was withdrawn from its constitution.

In May he went to Philadelphia to the first meeting. He writes: "We have been amazingly impressed in the business that brought us here. It is now drawing to a conclusion, and will soon be given to the public." The constitution, as eventually

drawn, was much upon the lines of his suggestions. The following letter to General Greene relates to this meeting.

“MOUNT VERNON, 21 March, 1784.

“MY DEAR SIR:—From the purport of your letter, dated February 16th, at Newport, (which only came to my hands yesterday,) I have little expectation that this reply to it will find you in the State of Rhode Island. If, however, the case be otherwise, it is to express an earnest wish that you might make it convenient to take the general meeting of the Cincinnati in your way to So. Carolina.

“I was concerned to hear you say only one delegate from your State would be there. It were to be wished, on many accounts, that the ensuing meeting might not only be full in representation, but that the best abilities of the society might also be present. There are, in my opinion, very important reasons for this, and I cannot help expressing an earnest wish, that yours may be among them. I would add more were I not apprehensive that this will not meet you in time. I have received letters from France on this subject, which, with the sentiments which many seem disposed to entertain of the tendency of this society, makes it, I repeat again, indispensably necessary that the first meeting should be full and respectable.

“As there is time (supposing that this letter gets to your hand in Rhode Island) to give me an acknowledgment of it, let me entreat an answer. My best wishes attend Mrs. Greene, yourself, and family, in which Mrs. Washington joins.”

The next week he recurs at more length to this subject.

“MOUNT VERNON, 27th March, 1784.

“MY DEAR SIR:—A few days ago, by the post, on which of late there seems to be no dependence, I wrote you a few lines expressive of an earnest wish that you could make it convenient to be at the general meeting of the Society of Cincinnati, before you took your departure for South Carolina. I did not then, nor can I now, assign all my reasons for it; but to me it should seem indispensable, that the meeting in May next should not only be full, but composed of the best abilities of the representation. The temper of the New England States, in particular, respecting this society, the increasing jealousies of it, a letter from the marquis, and other considerations point strongly to wise determinations at this time. If, then, private interest or convenience withhold the first characters from the meeting, what may be the consequence? It is easier and perhaps better to be conceived than told. At any rate a *bare* representation will bring the society into disrepute, and unfit it, perhaps, to decide upon the weighty matters which may come before it. Besides, these excuses may be offered by one man as well as another, and sure I am, none can urge them with more propriety than myself. I would add more, but that I fear this letter may not reach you in time, and I am detaining a countryman of yours, who has a fair wind, and I know is sitting upon thorns from his eagerness to embrace it. Most sincerely and affectionately, I am yours.”

The changes which he proposed in the plan were these :

Strike out every word, sentence, and clause which has a political tendency.

Discontinue the hereditary part in all its connections

absolutely, without any substitution, which can be construed into concealment, or a change of ground only, for this would, in my opinion, increase rather than allay suspicions.

Admit no more honorary members into the society.

Reject subscriptions or donations from every person who is not a citizen of the United States.

Place the funds upon such a footing as to remove the jealousies which are entertained on that score.

Respecting the funds, it would be magnanimous to place them, in the first instance, in the hands of the legislatures for the express purposes for which they were intended. This would show a generous confidence in our country, which might be productive of favorable sentiments and returns.

If it should be thought that this would be going too far, reserve them till our numbers are reduced to a certain ratio of what they now are, or for a certain number of years ; then to be disposed of as above.

The disposal of them by will or deed is too unimportant an object, in my opinion, for any member to be tenacious of it. The sums subscribed were, in that moment, consigned to charitable purposes. No one ever expected to receive a farthing of it back, unless, unhappily, he should become an object of its charity ; and in this case, whether he receives the benefit mediately or immediately from the society, the effect to him and obligation to them are precisely the same.

Authorize the foreign officers to hold meetings in France, if it shall be permitted by their government. Empower them at those meetings to hear and decide upon the pretensions of their own body, who, under the letter or spirit of the institution, claim the privilege of be-

coming members of the Cincinnati; as also the pretensions of foreigners not of any particular State line, whose claims are founded on being officers in the American army. Americans, in foreign countries, who belonged to the line of any State, are to make application to the society of that State, who shall hear and decide thereupon.

Upon these principles let the institution be formed in as clear, distinct, and explicit terms as language can convey. Let your secretary transmit the same to the senior foreign member in France, or the senior land and naval officer in that kingdom, if it shall be adjudged better for their government. Send copies also to the president of each State society. Accompany all these with a well-composed letter, expressive of the reasons which induced us to alter the constitution.

Then abolish the general meetings altogether as unnecessary. The constitution being given, a continuation of them would be expensive, and very probably, from a diversity of sentiment and tenacity of opinion, might be productive of more dissension than harmony; for it has been much observed, "that nothing loosens the bands of private friendship more than for friends to put themselves against each other in public debate, where every one is free to speak and to act." District meetings might also be discontinued, as of very little use, but attractive of much speculation.

No alterations short of what are here enumerated will in my opinion, reconcile the society to the community. Whether these will do it is questionable. Without being possessed of the reasons which induce many gentlemen to retain their order or badge of the society, it will be conceived by the public that the order (which ex-

cept in its perpetuity still appears in the same terrific array as at first) is a feather we cannot consent to pluck from ourselves, though we have taken it from our descendants. If we assign the reasons, we might, I presume, as well discontinue the order.

To Jefferson, a few days later, he wrote thus :

“April 8, 1784.

“DEAR SIR:—If, with frankness and the fullest latitude of a friend, you will give me your opinion of the institution of the Society of Cincinnati it would confer an acceptable favor upon me. If to this opinion you would be so obliging as to add the sentiments or what you *suppose* to be the sentiments of Congress respecting it, I would thank you.

“That you may have the best materials on which to form a judgment, I send you a copy of the proceedings of the society consequent of their choice of me for President *pro tempore* and the direction therein, which I sent with the Constitution to the French land and naval commanders, and to the Marquis de la Fayette, as the senior French officer in the American army, whose proceedings thereon I also enclose.

“These papers you will please to retain for fear of accidents, till I shall have the pleasure to see you at Annapolis, the week after next, on my way to Philadelphia, where this and other business will take me ; but the sooner I could receive your sentiments on this subject, the more pleasing they would be.

“The pamphlet ascribed to Mr. Burke has, I am told, had its effect. People are alarmed, especially in the Eastern States. How justly, or how contrary to the avowed principles of the society and the purity of their

motives, I will not declare, lest it should appear that I wanted to bias your judgment rather than obtain an opinion,—which, if you please, might be accompanied with sentiments upon the information here given respecting the most eligible measures to be pursued by the society at their next meeting.

“You may be assured, sir, that to the good opinion alone which I entertain of your abilities and candor, this liberty is to be attributed ; and I can truly add that, with very great esteem and regard, I am, dear sir, your most obedient, humble servant.”

There is a striking resemblance between the circumstances of Washington's return to Mount Vernon now, and that of his return after the French and Indian war. In each instance he was personally very eager to put his estate in order, and to repair the damages caused by his long absence. But in each case the necessities of the country engaged his mind ; and so, side by side with plans for the rotation of crops, there comes in an eager correspondence with his friends regarding the national situation.

It may interest some young statesman or some young general to know, in the hard testimony of figures, how much money the commander-in-chief of the American army spent in the nearly nine years of his public service, for what may be called his personal expenses. Under the head of “personal expenses,” however, in the remarkable account furnished by Washington at the end of his military

career, is included the outlay for secret service, which, in his administration, was so successful for information and for "reconnoitring." The total amount was 74,485 dollars. Every detail was exhibited in a form which admitted of complete examination and audit.

As early as the spring of 1784 he expresses himself, in the strongest terms, as to the necessity of a vigorous national government, which shall unite the thirteen weak States, whose independence was only nominal.

Indeed, it is to be observed by any student of the Constitution of America, that almost all the gentlemen who had served in the army were, from the beginning, stanch advocates of a strong national government. They had outgrown any petty notion of special allegiance to separate States, and with it had outgrown the fantastic vision in which little men supposed that little States could be strong. In the first place, they had been fighting for a nation, and not for any separate colony. It was the United States which had called the army into being, it was the United States which they had obeyed, and the United States to which they had sworn allegiance. It was for the United States that their companions had given their lives. Mr. Webster's magnificent boast is literally true. He said "that the bones of the sons of Massachusetts, who had fallen in the great struggle for freedom, whiten the soil of every

State from Massachusetts to Georgia." Even in those days of slow movement, it was possible that a soldier who had supped in New York might dine the next day somewhere in the Jerseys, might pass through or by Pennsylvania on his way southward, and find himself the next morning on picket in one of the "counties on Delaware."

These men had come to know, in their marches to and fro, the good of every State and the weakness of every State. And whatever theorists supposed, these men knew that the country must hold together, and hold by a strong tie, or that it was no country. They knew that there was no safety for one State, excepting in the assured union of the whole. It was for speculators like Jefferson, who had never taken the field, or aged enthusiasts like Sam. Adams, who had seen the wayward councils of the Continental Congress more than once overruled by the necessities of the field,—it was for such men as these to block the wheels, as far as they could, of a new form of national government. But, from the beginning, the officers of the old Continental line, and Washington at the head of them, were, almost to a man, enthusiasts for a strong national union.

In the midst, then, of Washington's cares for Mount Vernon, and his effort to put his whole establishment into the condition which satisfied his accurate and scientific habit, he was engaged in the

much larger and more difficult problem of helping to secure a national government. His letters on this subject alone would be well worth collecting and printing together. Perhaps this would be done if the nation had not at last learned, and learned by some very bitter lessons in the course of its hundred years of experience, the truth of the principles which he there laid down in the beginning.

After the Philadelphia visit he was in Mount Vernon again on the first of June. Writing to Chevalier Chastellux at that time, he says :

“ We have no occurrences out of the common course, except the establishment of ten new States in the western territory, and the appointment of Mr. Jefferson as one of the commissioners in Europe.”

It was in this off-hand way of dealing with large subjects that France was at once delighted and amazed by the American habit. Jefferson's suggestion for the western territory included ten States, which he named, after his own habit, with as many rigmarole titles. Saratoga, Chersonesus, Mesopotamia, Assenisippia, Sylvania, are specimens.

The announcement to Chastellux, that the creation of ten States was a bagatelle, was no boast on Washington's part. He knew that the establishment was on paper, and he fancied that his correspondent did.

In the autumn he made a visit to the west, comfortable in its plan, and successful in its execution.

The invitation to Dr. Craik is such an invitation as one would be glad to accept to-day.

“I am not going to explore the country, nor am I in search of fresh lands, but to secure what I have. Your business and mine lie in the same part of the country, and are of a similar nature. If you go, you will have occasion to take nothing from hence, but a servant to look after your horse and such bedding as you may think proper to make use of. I will carry a markee, some camp utensils, and a few stores. A boat, or some other kind of vessel, will be provided for the voyage down the river, either at my place on the Youghiogeny or Fort Pitt.”

As in his former expeditions, he kept a journal through this excursion, from which we publish some passages. Once more we find an interesting account of a part of the country which has since proved so important, of which he saw the importance before most men.

The journey occupied him several weeks, he was most of the time on horseback, and he travelled 680 miles. He crossed the mountains by the usual route of Braddock's road, but returned through the wild and unsettled country which is watered by the different branches of the Cheat River, and came into the Shenandoah valley near Stanton.

He engaged himself at once again in enterprises on uniting the navigation of the rivers of the east, with those of the west. In writing to Harrison, the father of President Harrison, on the tenth of October, he says :

"I shall take the liberty now, my dear sir, to suggest a matter which would, if I am not too short-sighted a politician, mark your administration as an important era in the annals of this country, if it should be recommended by you and adopted by the Assembly."

There follows an admirable sketch of the geographical relations of the west and the east, and a prophecy of the routes of future travel. Any person who thinks that Washington's best work in the war was done for him by his aides, had better read such a paper as this, to show what he did when he was alone.

"Taking Detroit as a port by which the northwestern trade must come, it appears from the statement enclosed that the tide-waters of this State are nearer to it, by 168 miles, than those of the river St. Lawrence, or than those of the Hudson at Albany by 176 miles."

Speaking afterwards of the Pennsylvanians :

"A people who are possessed of the spirit of commerce, who see and who will pursue their advantages, may achieve almost any thing." "In the meantime, under the uncertainty of these undertakings [meaning undertakings for canals] they are smoothing the roads and paving the ways for the trade of the western world. That New York will do the same, as soon as the British garrisons are removed, no person who knows the temper, genius, and policy of those people as well as I do, can harbor the slightest doubt." "The western States, I speak now from my own observation, stand, as it were, upon a pivot ; the touch of a feather would turn them any way. They have looked down the

Mississippi until the Spaniards, very impolitically, I think for themselves, threw difficulties in that way. And they looked that way for no other reason than because they could glide gently down the stream."

The whole letter, which is a masterly plea, proposes an appeal to the Assembly for a plan for the opening of the western waters. This plan was actually set on foot. It is alluded to all the way through the Washington correspondence, and resulted in the first steps for the system of public improvement, of which the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal is now the most important monument.

The long-expected visit of Lafayette took place in the autumn of 1784, but the Marchioness was not with him. He arrived at Mount Vernon on the 17th of August, and remained there twelve days. During that time Mount Vernon was crowded with other guests who came to meet him, and when he left for Baltimore a large cavalcade of Virginia gentlemen accompanied him on his way. Among other offerings from Europe Lafayette brought Washington a letter from Mesmer, the great charlatan to whom we owe the word "mesmerism," as related to the science which is yet unexplained. Washington's answer is amusing, as showing his faculty for saying something when he had to say it but had nothing to say.

"The Marquis of Lafayette did me the honor of presenting to me your favor of the 16th of June, and of

entering into some explanation of the powers of magnetism, the discovery of which, if it should prove as extensively beneficial as it is said it will, must be fortunate indeed for mankind, and redound very highly to the honor of that genius to whom it owes its birth. For the confidence reposed in me by the society which you have formed for the purpose of diffusing all the advantages expected, and for your favorable sentiments of me, I pray you to receive my gratitude and the assurances of the respect and esteem with which I have the honor to be, etc., etc."

To the Marchioness Lafayette, when her husband returns, he writes :

"The Marquis returns to you with all the warmth and ardor of a newly inspired lover. We restore him to you in good health, crowned with wreaths of love and respect from every part of the Union. That his meeting with you, his family, and friends, may be propitious, and as happy as your wishes can make it, that you may live long together, revered and beloved, and that you may transmit to a numerous progeny the virtues which you both possess, is the fervent wish of your devoted and most respectful humble servant.

"N. B.—In every good wish for you, Mrs. Washington sincerely joins me."

Lafayette and his heirs male, were, by special statutes, made citizens of Maryland and of Virginia.

With the return of peace his great duty of sitting for his portrait began again. Here is an amusing letter to the Count de Solms regarding a picture,

which probably can still be found by some enterprising traveller in Germany.

‘January, 1784.

“ *To the Count de Solms, Gen’l of Infantry in the Service of Saxe, &c.*

“ SIR:—The letters which you did me the honor to write from Königstein on the 9th of July last came safely to my hands a few days ago, accompanied by one from Mons. le Comte de Bruhl.

“ I must entreat, my general, that you will accept my best acknowledgments for the favorable opinion you are pleased to express of my military character, as well as for your great politeness in proposing to introduce my likeness amongst your collection of heroes. I must likewise be permitted to assure you with how much satisfaction I should have embraced and welcomed, at my seat on the banks of the Potomac, the venerable Soudart, the noble Count de Solms, who has had the happiness to have served with, and to have been the friend and companion of, those illustrious characters which now compass his inestimable collection, and into whose company I am sensible it is no small honor to have even my portrait admitted.

“ But as the distance and circumstances will not permit me the pleasure of seeing you, I must be contented with giving the best demonstration of respect in my power. I have not delayed a moment, therefore, to comply with your wishes, but have employed a gentleman to perform the work who is thought on a former occasion to have taken a better likeness of me than any other painter has done. His forte seems to be in giving the distinguishing characteristics with more boldness than delicacy, and

altho' he commonly marks the features very strongly, yet I cannot flatter you that you will find the touches of pencil extremely soft, or that the portrait will in any respect equal your expectations. Such as it may be (and for your sake I would wish the execution was as perfect as possible), it will be forwarded from Philadelphia, to the orders of the Count de Bruhl, as soon as it is finished, and I pray your acceptance of it as a token of the great veneration and esteem with which," etc.

The following letter of the same spring to the French Count d'Estaing acknowledges the receipt of a handsome jewel presented to him by the seamen of France. It appears to have been in the form of the Eagle of the badge of the Cincinnati :

“ PHILADELPHIA, 15th May, 1784.

“ SIR:—Any token of regard, of whatever intrinsic worth in itself, coming from the Count d'Estaing, must be stamped with dignity and respect ; but when attended with the esteem and regards of all the sailors of your nation, the companions of your honorable toils in America, is not only agreeably acceptable,—it becomes absolutely inestimable. As such I receive the American Eagle which your Excellency has been pleased to present me in the name of all the sailors of the French nation. And at the same time that I acknowledge myself hereby inexpressibly honored by that most respectable body of men, I beg you to assure them in my name of the very high estimation in which I shall ever hold this particular mark of their regard and attention.

“ To the navy of France, sir, this country will hold itself deeply indebted ; its assistance has rendered practicable those enterprises which without it could not with

any probability of success have been attempted. I feel myself happy in this opportunity, through your Excellency's favor, of paying to the officers and sailors of his most Christian Majesty this tribute of grateful acknowledgment, which I beg you, sir, to be so obliging as to convey to them, and at the same time to assure yourself of possessing in my breast every sentiment of inviolable attachment and respect with which your character has impressed my mind.

"I have the honor to be, etc., etc.,

"G. WASHINGTON."

The session of the Cincinnati did not detain him longer than May in Philadelphia. He came back to Mount Vernon to find, among other things, that his ice had not kept, or, as he says, that "he was lurch'd." A friendly letter to Robert Morris, asking his help for a nephew, a brother to the gentleman who became Judge Bushrod Washington, announces this misfortune :

"MOUNT VERNON, June 2, 1784.

". . . The inclination of the young gentleman also points to this walk of life ; he is turned of twenty ; possesses, I am told (for he is a stranger to me), good natural abilities, an amiable disposition, and an uncommon share of prudence and circumspection.

"Would it suit you, my dear sir, to take him into your counting-house, and to afford him your patronage ? If this is not convenient, who would you recommend for this purpose ? What advance and what other requisites are necessary to initiate him ? Excuse this trouble ; to comply with the wishes of a parent anxious for the welfare of his chil-

dren, I give it, and my friendship prompted it, but I wish you to be perfectly unembarrassed by the application, on either account.

“ If General Armand should have left Philadelphia, you will oblige me by placing the enclosed in the readiest channel of conveyance. My affectionate regards, in which Mrs. Washington joins me, attend Mrs. Morris, yourself, and family. With every sentiment of friendship and pure esteem,

I remain, dear sir, etc., etc.,

“ G. WASHINGTON.”

“ P. S.—The house I filled with ice does not answer; it is gone already. If you will do me the favor to cause a description of yours to be taken—the size, manner of building, and mode of management,—and forward it to me, I shall be much obliged. My house was filled chiefly with snow. Have you ever tried snow? Do you think it is owing to this that I am lurching?”

A letter of July, preparing for his journey, to the commandant at Pittsburg, makes arrangements for it, with the sort of delicacy which belongs to Washington's character and makes it worth quoting :

“ July 10, 1784.

“ I propose to be at my plantation, on Youghiogeny, the 10th of September, which with my mill and other matters will be disposed of the 15th, as you may see by the enclosed advertisements. From thence, I have thoughts of visiting my lands on the Great Kanawha, and on the Ohio, between the two Kanawhas, if I can do it conveniently, and obtain the means of a water conveyance.

“ Let me request the favor of you, therefore, sir, to inform me by a line to be left at my plantation in the care

of Mr. Gilbert Simpson, whether there are any public boats at the post under your command, which might answer my purpose ; if there are not, whether one or more could be hired from the inhabitants in the vicinity of it, and at what price by the day, with hands to navigate her, as also without hands.

“ Whether you could spare me from the garrison three or four trusty soldiers (a corporal one of them) for the trip ; and whether provision for man and horse could be purchased at Fort Pitt, with liquor for such a jaunt, and on what terms. ’T is probable I may want water transportation, etc., for ten horses.

“ I persuade myself you will excuse the trouble this application will occasion you, and think there is no impropriety in my request respecting the boat and soldiers ; if I had thought there was, I pledge myself to you I should not have made it. I am desirous of meeting your answer at Mr. Simpson’s to *all* these queries by the 10th, because my ultimate measures must be decided on at that place the moment I arrive there ; and no time ought to be lost in having recourse to other measures if I cannot be supplied with you.

“ I am, with esteem, sir, yours, etc.,

“ G. WASHINGTON.”

He added a greenhouse to the establishment at Mount Vernon. For this he asked instructions from Mr. Tilghman.

WASHINGTON TO T. TILGHMAN.

“ MOUNT VERNON, August 11, 1784.

“ DEAR SIR:—I shall essay the finishing of my greenhouse this fall, but find that neither myself nor any person about me is so well skilled in the internal construc-

ture as to proceed without a probability, at least, of running into error.

“Shall I for this reason ask the favor of you to give me a short description of the greenhouse at Mrs. Carroll’s? I am persuaded now that I planned mine upon too contracted a scale. My house is (of brick) 40 feet by 24 in the outer dimension, and half the width disposed of for two rooms back of the part designed for the greenhouse, leaving the latter in the clear not more than about 37 by 10. As there is no cover on the walls yet, I can raise them to any height.

“The information I wish to obtain is the dimensions of Mrs. Carroll’s greenhouse; what kind of floor is to it; how high from the floor to the bottom of the window-frame; what height the windows are from bottom to top; how high from the top to the ceiling of the house; whether the ceiling is flat, or of what kind; whether the heat is conveyed by flues and a grate; whether those flues run all round the house; the size of them without and in the clear; whether they join the wall, or are separate and distinct from it; if the latter, how far they are apart, with any other suggestions you may conceive necessary.

“I should be glad to hear from you soon on this subject, as I shall leave home on or before the first of next month, and wish to give particular directions to the workmen before I go. I am, dear sir, etc., etc.,

Of Lafayette’s visit Washington makes some note in a letter to Chastellux.

TO THE MARQUIS DE CHASTELLUX.

“MOUNT VERNON, August 20, 1784.

“MY DEAR SIR:—The Marquis de la Fayette, who I had been looking for with the eyes of friendship and

impatience, arrived here on Tuesday last, and presented me your favor of the 16th of June.

“I thank you, my dear sir, for every testimony of your recollection of me, and every fresh assurance you give me of the continuation of your friendship is pleasing; it serves (to borrow an Indian phrase) to brighten the chain, and to convince me that you will not suffer moth or rust to injure or impair it. We talk of you often, and though we wish in vain to have you of our party, we do not fail to drink your health at dinner every day. I will not give up the hope of seeing you at Mount Vernon before I quit the stage of human action; the idea would be too painful. I must indulge a contrary one.

“As I have no communications at this time that are worthy of *your* attention, and a house full of company to claim *mine*, I shall, as the ship by which I write has spread her canvas wings, only add new assurances of what I hope you were before perfectly convinced, that I am, with the greatest esteem and regard,

“My dear sir, yours, etc., etc.,”

The following letter, written the day before he left home, gives a pretty bit of home life. It is to Dr. Le Moyeur :

“30th of August, 1784.

“SIR:—Your letter of the 14th, accompanying the horse for little Washington, came safe. It is not in my power to describe his delight, which is the best proof of his thanks to you. He finds beauty in every part, and, though shy at first, he begins now to ride with a degree of boldness which will soon do honor to his horsemanship. Mrs. Washington and all the family join me in best wishes for you. Mrs. Lund Washington has added a daughter to

her family. Miss Bassett is on a visit to her friends in the lower parts of this State, and I shall set off to-morrow on a tour to the western country. I shall always be happy to hear from you, and only wish for opportunity to make you amends for the attentions you have shown me. This letter will be handed to you by the Marquis de la Fayette, to whom I have mentioned you as one to whom I am under obligations."





CHAPTER XII.

INTERNAL IMPROVEMENTS, ETC.

Navigation of Potomac River—Letters to Counts de la Touche and Rochambeau—Letter to Gen. Knox—Effects of Overwork—Letter to Samuel Chase—Public Schools—Letter to Eneas Lamont, Poet—Not “Marshal of France”—To George Wm. Fairfax, Refugee—Ruins of Belvoir—Condition of Private Affairs—To Jefferson—Loan in Europe—“Cumberland Road”—Present from Virginia Assembly—Western Emigration—To Richard Henry Lee in Congress—Treaty with Western Indians—Navigation of Mississippi—To Mr. Carmichael—Mercantile Interests—To M. de Marbois, French Minister—Mississippi River and the Spanish—To Mme. Lucretia Wilhelmina Van Winter, Holland, Acknowledging a Poem in His Praise—To Mr. Tilghman Concerning Private Secretary and His Duties—Mr. Tobias Lear, Secretary—Plans for the “Union”—Committee Meeting at Mount Vernon.

AFTER his western journey, on his return to Mount Vernon he occupied himself in the negotiations between Maryland and Virginia, which were necessary for the opening of the navigation westward on the line of the Potomac River. His plans for this are described in a familiar letter to Knox, his old companion in arms, which the reader will be glad to follow. It is interesting to see that he still speaks of the Virginians as his “countrymen,” and when he alludes to the men of Massachusetts, he calls them his “compatriots.” The language of United America was not yet formed.

Monmouth Sept 25th 1785

Dear Sir

Amid the public tumults
on your application to America,
after a long absence, and the many
services you have rendered
as it - for what as a benefit for
her free the opposition - permit me
individual to join the public voice
in expressing the sense of them;
and to assure you that as no one
entertains more respect for your
character, so none can revel you
with more sincerity, or with greater
pleasure than I do on the occasion.

Yours Dear Sir

Wm Mott Sted. 3 and

most of the year

Wm Mott Sted

The Hon. Wm
Doct. Franklin.

One or two letters to Europe explain themselves.

TO THE COUNT DE LA TOUCHE.

"MOUNT VERNON, 25 November, 1784.

"SIR:—The Marquis de la Fayette presented me with honor of your favor of the 15th of June. Let me beseech you to be persuaded, sir, that I derived great pleasure from its contents, and shall think it a very happy circumstance if fortune should ever place it in my power to facilitate your views of settlement in a country which your personal services have contributed to free from those shackles which were forging for its bondage. The acquisition of such a citizen, cannot be more pleasing than honorable to America; and in whatever I can be useful towards the fulfilment of your wishes, you have only to command my best services.

"I have the honor to be, etc.,

"G. WASHINGTON."

TO THE COUNT DE ROCHAMBEAU.

"November 25, 1784.

"MY DEAR COUNT:—Your favor of the 9th of September, enclosing the copy of a letter from the Marquis de Segur, is this moment come to hand. The repeated instances of the honor conferred on the Society of the Cincinnati by his most Christian Majesty's indulgent recognition of it, are highly flattering, and merit the most graceful acknowledgments of all its members.

"The pleasure with which you say Prince Henry of Prussia viewed my picture at your house is very flattering. I can never too often assure you of my affectionate regard, and of the respect and attachment with which I have the honor to be,

My dear Count,

"Yours, etc."

The letter to Knox also dwells on the burden of his correspondence, and embodies some of his New-Year's resolutions of 1785:

“ MOUNT VERNON, 5th January, 1785.

“ MY DEAR SIR:—About the beginning of last month I wrote you a pretty long letter, and soon after received your favor of the 23d of November. It is not the letters from my friends which give me trouble or add aught to my perplexity. I receive them with pleasure, and pay as much attention to them as my avocation will permit. It is reference of old matters with which I have nothing to do, applications which oftentimes cannot be complied with, enquiries which would employ the pen of an historian to satisfy; letters of compliment, as unmeaning, perhaps, as they are troublesome, but which must be attended to; and the commonplace business, which employs my pen and my time, often disagreeably. Indeed, these, with company, deprive me of exercise, and unless I can obtain relief, must be productive of disagreeable consequences. I already begin to feel the effect: heavy and painful oppressions of the head, and other disagreeable sensations often trouble me. I am determined, therefore, to employ some person who shall ease me of the drudgery of this business; at any rate, if the whole of it is hereby suspended, I am determined to use exercise. My private concerns also require infinitely more attention than I have given, or can give them under present circumstances; they can no longer be neglected without involving my ruin.

“ This, my dear sir, is a friendly communication. I give it in testimony of my unreservedness with you, and not for the purpose of discouraging your letters; for be assured, that to correspond with those I love is among my

highest gratifications, and I persuade myself you will not doubt my sincerity when I assure you I place you among the foremost of this class. Letters of friendship require no study; the communications are easy, and all allowances are expected and made. This is not the case with those which require researches, consideration, recollection, and the D—l knows what, to prevent error and answer the end for which they are written.

“In my last I informed you that I was endeavoring to stimulate my countrymen to the extension of the inland navigation of our rivers, and to the opening of the best and easiest communication for land transportation between them and the western waters. I am just returned from Annapolis, to which place I was requested to go by our Assembly (with my bosom-friend General G—s, who, being at Richmond, contrived to edge himself into the commission), for the purpose of arranging matters and framing a law, which should be similar in both States, so far as it respected the river Potomac, which separates them. I met the most perfect accordance in that legislature, and the matter is now reported to ours for its concurrence. The two Assemblies (not being in circumstances to undertake this business *wholly* at the public expense) propose to incorporate such private adventurers as shall associate for the purpose of extending the navigation of the river from tide-water as far up as it will admit craft of ten-ton burthen, and to allow them a perpetual toll and other emoluments to induce them to subscribe freely to a work of such magnitude, whilst they have agreed (I should rather say probably will agree, as the matter is not yet concluded in the Virginia Assembly) to open at the public expense the communication with the Western Territory. To do this is a great political work, may be im-

mensely extensive in a commercial point, and beyond all question will be exceedingly beneficial to those who advance the money for the purpose of extending the navigation of the river, as the tolls arising therefrom are to be held in perpetuity, and will increase every year.

“Our amiable young friend the Marquis de la Fayette could not be otherwise than well pleased with his reception in America. Every testimony of respect, affection, and gratitude has been shown him wherever he went; if his heart therefore has not been impressed with the expectations of them (which I am far from supposing), the political consequences which he will derive from them must bear them in his remembrance, and point to the advantage which must follow.

“The report of my coming to Boston was without foundation. I do not at this time know when or whetherever I may have it in my power to do this, although to see my compatriots in war would be great gratification to my mind.

“With every sentiment of esteem and friendship,

“I am, my dear sir,

“Your most obedient and affectionate servant.”

On the same day he wrote to his neighbor and friend, Samuel Chase, the same who was afterwards on the Supreme Bench.

“MOUNT VERNON, 5 January, 1785.

“DEAR SIR:—Receive my thanks for your favor of 31st ult. and for the copies therein enclosed. They will answer my purposes equally with the fairest that could be made.

“When I found your express at Mount Pleasant, and was unable to procure another in Marlbro’, I commenced one

myself. I got home before dinner and despatched one of my servants to Hove's Ferry immediately. He placed the packet in the hands of the express there waiting, before nine o'clock the next morning. On Friday with ease the business might have been laid before the Assembly of this State, yet sitting I believe. When I hear from thence I will, with pleasure, communicate the result.

"The attention, which your Assembly is giving to the establishment of public schools for the encouragement of literature, does them honor. To accomplish this ought to be one of our first endeavors. I know of no object more interesting. We want something to expand the mind and make us think with more liberality and act with sounder policy than most of the States do. We should consider that we are not now in leading-strings. It behooves us, therefore, to look well to our ways. My best wishes attend the ladies of your family.

"I am, dear sir, etc.,

"Your most obedient servant."

In the following letter to a poet, whose name is otherwise forgotten, he corrects an error which has, however, crept into history.

TO *ÆNEAS LAMONT*.

"MOUNT VERNON, 31 January, 1785.

"SIR:—The interruption of the post by the frost withheld your letter of the 31st ult. from me until within a few days.

"The liberty you have taken of dedicating your poetical works to me does me great honor. The conditions upon which you offer them to the public are generous; evincive of their purity, and a conscious worth of them. I

shall with pleasure,, therefore, take a few copies of the bound and lettered books, when they are ready for delivery.

“It behooves me to correct a mistake in your printed address “To the Fine Arts.” I am not a Marshal of France, nor do I hold any commission, or fill any office under that government or any other whatever.”

A letter of the same winter, to his old neighbor and friend, George Fairfax, is pathetic in its account of change and ruin. The beautiful Belvoir, which had been, in earlier life, a place so charming to him, is no more. And he describes the desolation very sadly. Fairfax was a refugee in England.

THE HONORABLE GEO. WM. FAIRFAX.

“MOUNT VERNON, 27 February, 1785.

“MY DEAR SIR:—In a letter of old date, but lately received, from the Countess of Huntington, she refers to a letter which her ladyship says you obligingly undertook to forward to me; never having received one from her to the purport she mentions, there can be no doubt but that this letter, with your cover to it, have met the fate of some of mine to you, as I have wrote several within the last twelve or eighteen months, without any acknowledgment of them from you.

“I cannot at this moment recur to the contents of those letters of mine to you which I suspect have miscarried, further than that they were all expressive of an earnest wish to see you and Mrs. Fairfax once more fixed in this country; and to beg that you would consider Mount Vernon as your home until you could build with convenience—in which request Mrs. Washington joins

very sincerely. I never look towards Belvoir without having this uppermost in my mind. But, alas!—Belvoir is no more! I took a ride there the other day to visit the ruins—and ruins indeed they are. The dwelling-house and the two brick buildings in front underwent the ravages of the fire, the walls of which are very much injured; the other houses are sinking under the depredations of time and inattention, and I believe are now scarcely worth repairing; in a word, the whole are or very soon will be a heap of ruins. When I reviewed them,—when I considered that the happiest moments of my life had been spent there,—when I could not trace a room in the house (now all rubbish) that did not bring to my mind the recollection of pleasing scenes, I was obliged to fly from them, and came home with painful sensations and sorrowing for the contrast.

“Mrs. Morton still lives at your barn quarters. The management of your business is entrusted to one Mase (the son to a colonel of that name whom you cannot have forgotten); he is, I am told, a very active and industrious man; but in what sort of order he has your estate I am unable to inform you, never having seen him since my return to Virginia.

“It may be, and I daresay is presumed, that if I am not returned to my former habits of life, the change is to be ascribed to a preference of ease and indolence to exercise and my wonted activity. But be assured, my dear sir, that at no period of the war have I been obliged *myself* to go through more drudgery in writing or have suffered so much confinement to effect it, as since what is called my retirement to domestic ease and tranquillity. Strange as it may seem, it is nevertheless true, that I have been able since I came home to give very little attention

to my own concerns or to those of others with which I am entrusted.

“My accounts stand as I left them near ten years ago ; those who owed me money, a very few instances excepted, availed themselves of what are called the Tender Laws, and paid me off with a shilling and sixpence in the pound. Those to whom I owed I have now to pay under heavy taxes with specie or its equivalent value. I do not mention these matters by way of complaint, but as an apology for not having rendered you a full and perfect statement of the account as it may stand between us ere this. I allotted this winter, supposing the dreariness of the season would afford me leisure to overhaul and adjust all my papers (which are in sad disorder, from the frequent hasty removals of them from the reach of our trans-atlantic foes, when their ships appeared), but I reckoned without my host ; company, and a continual reference of old military matters with which I ought to have no concern, applications for certificates of service, etc., copies of orders, and the Lord knows what besides, to which, whether they are complied with or not, some response must be made, engross nearly my whole time. I am now endeavoring to get some person as a secretary or clerk to take the fatiguing part of this business off my hands. I have not yet succeeded, but shall continue my enquiries till one shall offer, properly recommended.

“It is unnecessary, I persuade myself, to use arguments to convince Mrs. Fairfax and yourself of the sincere regard, attachment, and affection Mrs. Washington and I have for you both, or to assure you how much I am, my dear sir, etc., etc.”

At the same time he wrote to Jefferson, who had

just then gone to France as American Minister. The letter is, perhaps, the first to propose a loan in Europe for internal improvements in America, on the credit of the American States. The plan of the combined States of Maryland and Virginia was to improve the navigation of the Potomac as far as possible, and then to open a turnpike road across the mountains,—a plan which eventually grew into the "Cumberland Road" of a later generation. It was also proposed to improve the navigation of James River and to open inland communication with North Carolina. For all this more money was needed than there was prospect of finding at home. Washington therefore looks for help abroad.

"I have the honor to enclose to you the copy of an act which passed the Assemblies of Virginia and Maryland at the close of their respective sessions, about the first of last month. The circumstances of these States, it is said, would not enable them to take the matter up altogether upon public ground; but they have granted, at the joint and equal expense of the two, six thousand six hundred sixty six dollars and a half for the purpose of opening a road of communication between the highest navigation of the Potomac and the river Cheat, and have concurred in an application to the State of Pennsylvania for leave to open another road from Fort Cumberland, on Will's Creek, to the Youghiogeny at the three forks, or the Turkey fort.

"Besides these joint acts of the States of Virginia and Maryland, the former has passed a similar law respecting the navigation of James River, and its communication with the Greenbriar, and have authorized the executive to ap-

point commissioners, who shall carefully examine and fix on the most convenient source for a canal from the waters of Elisabeth River in this State, to those passing through the State of North Carolina, and report their proceedings thereon, with an estimate of the expense necessary for opening such canal, to the next General Assembly, and in case they shall find that the best course for such canal will require the concurrence of North Carolina in the opening thereof, they are further authorized and instructed to signify the same to the said State, and to concert, with any person or persons who may be appointed on the part thereof, the most convenient and equitable plan for the execution of such work, and to report the result to the General Assembly.

With what success the books will be opened, I cannot, at this early stage of the business, inform you ; in general, the friends of the measure are better stocked with good wishes than money ; the former of which, unfortunately, go but little way in undertakings where the latter is necessary, and is not to be had ; and yet, if this matter could be well understood, it should seem that there would be no more want of the latter than of the former ; for certain I am that there is no speculation of which I have an idea that will insure such *certain* and speedy returns of the money advanced, with a great and yearly increase of interest, than the tolls arising from these navigations ; the accomplishment of which, if funds can be obtained, admits of no more doubt in my mind, under proper direction, than that a ship with skilful mariners can be carried from hence to Europe. What a misfortune therefore would it be, if a project which is big with such political consequences, commercial advantages, and which might be made so productive to private adventurers, should mis-

carry, either from the inability of the two States to execute it at the public expense, or for want of means, or the want of spirit and foresight to use them in their citizens.

“Supposing a danger of this, do you think, sir, the monied men of France, Holland, England, or any other country with whom you may have interviews might be induced to become adventurers in the scheme? Or if, from the remoteness of the object, this might appear to them ineligible, would they incline to lend money to one or both of these States, if there should be a disposition in them to borrow for this purpose; or to one or more individuals in them, who might be disposed and could give sufficient security for the repayment? At what interest and on what conditions, respecting time, payment of interest, etc., could this be obtained?

“I foresee such extensive political consequences which depend upon the improvement of the navigation of these two rivers, and communicating them by short and easy roads, with the waters of the Western Territory, that I am pained by every doubt of obtaining the means for their accomplishment; for this reason, I also wish you would be so obliging as to direct your inquiries after one or more characters who have skill in this kind of work; that if companies should be incorporated under the present acts, and should incline to send to France or England for an engineer or man of practical knowledge in this kind of work, there may be a clue to the application. You will readily perceive, my dear sir, that no engagement obligatory or honorary can be entered into at this time, because no person can answer for the determinations of the companies, admitting they should come into existence.”

As its last act, on its adjournment, the Assembly

had presented to Washington fifty shares in each company, free of assessment. He closes his letter to Jefferson by asking his private advice, how he can refuse this present without the aspect of over-precision, or of unkindness.

The emigration to the west, both south and north of the Ohio, flowed on with a rapidity which startled all the statesmen of the old colonies, and alarmed all but the wisest. Instantly the new settlers found that their access to the sea, by the Mississippi, was jealously guarded by the Spanish government. There was, therefore, a pressing necessity for the new nation to assert itself in regard to that navigation. As to maritime commerce the Atlantic States found at once that they must come to some understanding with each other in regard to that.

This is what is said in fewer words, when one says the Federal Constitution was needed, or, as Washington calls it in one of these letters, "the Union":

TO RICHARD HENRY LEE.

[IN CONGRESS.]

"MOUNT VERNON, 15 March, 1785.

"DEAR SIR:—I have had the honor to receive your Excellency's favor of the 14th of February, and pray you to receive my thanks for the copy of the treaty with the Western Indians which you were so obliging as to send.

"From the accounts given me of the temper these people were in last fall, I did not expect such a cession

of territory from the tribes that met. The Shawanese are pretty numerous and among the most warlike of the Ohio Indians; but if the other tribes are in earnest and will observe the treaty, and a third treaty is concluded with the more southerly Indians, their spirits must yield, or they could easily be extirpated.

"The wisdom of Congress will now be called upon to fix a minimum price on these lands, and to point out the most advantageous mode of settling them, so as that law and good government may be administered, and the Union strengthened and supported thereby.

"Progressive seating, in my opinion, is the only means by which this can be effected; and unless in the scale of politics more than one new State is found necessary at this time, the *unit*, I believe, would be found more pregnant with advantages than the *decade*,¹ the latter, if I mistake not, will be more advancive of individual interest than the public welfare.

"As you will have that untowardness, jealousy, and pride which are characteristic of the Spanish nation to contend with, it is more than probable that Mr. Gardoqui² will give Congress a good deal of trouble respecting the navigation of the Mississippi River.

"To me it should seem that their true policy would lie in making New Orleans a free mart, instead of shutting the port; but their ideas of trade are very limited.

"I take the liberty of putting a letter under your cover for Mrs. Lee. Mrs. Washington joins me in respectful compliments, and I am, etc."

The following letter to Mr. Carmichael, in the

¹ He means that one new State is better than ten, and his language is a humorous allusion to the new-coining projects.

² The Spanish Minister.

United States service at Madrid, refers to the same subjects in part. There are other references to the Andalusian jacks which soon arrived at Mount Vernon :

TO WILLIAM CARMICHAEL.
[ON DIPLOMATIC SERVICE IN SPAIN.]

“ MOUNT VERNON, June 10, 1785.

“ SIR:—It is with grateful pleasure I sit down to acknowledge the receipt of your favor of the 25th of March, covering a triplicate of your letter of 3d of December (which is the first that has been received), and a copy of the Count of Florida Blanca's note to you.

“ I feel myself under singular obligation to you, sir, as the means of procuring two Jacks of the first race to be sent me, but my gratitude for so condescending a mark of esteem from one of the first crowned heads in Europe calls for a better expression than I have, to make suitable acknowledgments to His Catholic Majesty, especially, too, as His Majesty's very valuable present was accompanied by a sentiment of approbation which cannot fail of making a lasting impression on my mind, and of becoming very dear to my remembrance.

“ It is to you, sir, I must stand further indebted for the manner of making known, in terms most acceptable, the high sense I entertain of the King's goodness. The Jacks are not yet arrived, but I hope they soon will ; and the account which you mean to transmit of the mode of treating them for the propagation of mules will be equally necessary and acceptable for my management of them.

“ Mr. Gardoqui is safely arrived at Philadelphia. I have not had the honor of paying my compliments to him, but, as well for the respect I owe his Sovereign and

his own great merit, as on account of your recommendation of him, I shall be happy in every opportunity which shall offer of showing him all the attention in my power.

“Great Britain, viewing with eyes of chagrin and jealousy the situation of this country, will not, for some time yet, if ever, pursue a liberal policy towards it ; but unfortunately *for her* the conduct of her ministers defeats their own ends ; their restriction of our trade with them will facilitate the enlargement of Congressional powers in commercial matters more than half a century would otherwise have effected.

“The mercantile interests of this country are uniting as one man to vest the federal government with ample powers to regulate trade and counteract the selfish views of other nations ; this may be considered as another proof that this country will ever unite in opposition to unjust or ungenerous measures, whensoever or from whomsoever they are offered.”

WASHINGTON TO MARBOIS.

[THE FRENCH MINISTER AT PHILADELPHIA.]

“MOUNT VERNON, 1785.

“SIR:—The last Post brought me the honor of your favor of the 12th instant. I am made happy by occasions which induce you to write to me, and shall take pleasure in tendering M. De Corney any service in my power.

“I will immediately inform myself of the name and residence of the Treasurer of the Society of the Cincinnati in this State, and transmit M. De Corney’s bill on Colonel Wadsworth to him.

“I am much obliged to you, sir, for the several communications in your letter. I wish something disagreeable may

not result from the contentions respecting the navigation of the river Mississippi; the emigration to the waters thereof is astonishingly great, and chiefly from a description of people who are not very subordinate to the laws and constitution of the State they go from. Whether the prohibition of the Spaniards, therefore, is just or unjust, politic or impolitic, it will be with difficulty that a people of this class can be restrained from the enjoyment of natural advantages. It is devoutly to be wished that Mr. Gardoqui would enter into such stipulations with Congress as may avert the impending evil, and be mutually advantageous to both nations.

“After the explicit declarations of the Emperor respecting the navigation of the Scheldt, and his other demands upon Holland, it should seem, I think, as if he stood in a predicament not very desirable: for, if he recedes, his foresight and judgment may be arraigned; and, if he proceeds, his ruin may be involved. But, possibly, I am hazarding sentiments from a superficial view of things, when it will appear ultimately that he has had important objects in view, and accomplished them.”

Letters of compliment and of business from Europe still followed him. It is interesting to observe, in one of his answers, that even after his acquaintance with Rochambeau's officers, he does not read French. The catalogue of his library shows many poems, for which he had given the subject, which are, alas, forgotten. Here is a letter to Madame Van Winter, a Dutch lady, acknowledging one of them. It may be feared that she is nowhere else remembered.

WASHINGTON TO LUCRETIA WILHELMINA VAN WINTER.¹

“ MOUNT VERNON, 30 March, 1785

“ MADAM :—The honor, which your pen has done me, so far exceeds my merits, that I am at a loss for words to express my sense of the compliment it conveys.

“ The poem, in celebration of my exertions to establish the rights of my country, was forwarded to me from Philadelphia by Mr. Vogels, to whom I should have been happy to offer civilities, but he did not give me the pleasure to see him.

“ At best I have only been an instrument in the hands of Providence, to effect, with the aid of France and many virtuous fellow-citizens of America, a revolution interesting to the general liberties of mankind, and the emancipation of a country which may afford an asylum (if we are wise enough to pursue the paths that lead to virtue and happiness) to the oppressed and needy of the earth. Our region is extensive, our plains are productive, and if they are cultivated with liberality and good sense, we may be happy ourselves, and diffuse happiness to all who wish to participate.

“ The lady, of whom you have made such honorable mention, is truly sensible of the obligation, and joins with me in wishing you every happiness which is to be found here, and met with hereafter.”

The pressure of correspondence and of hospitality became more than he could bear. He began the inquiries which resulted in the appointment of Mr. Tobias Lear as the tutor of the children of Jack Custis and as Washington's own secretary.

¹ This lady resided at Leyden in Holland.

He tells what he wants in the following letter to his friend, Mr. Tilghman :

“ MOUNT VERNON, 2 June, 1785.

“ DEAR SIR :—As your letter of the 30th ultimo did not reach me until late this afternoon, and as the post goes from Alexandria at four o'clock in the morning, I have scarcely a moment (being also in company) to write you a reply. I was not sufficiently explicit in my last. The terms upon which Mr. Falconer came to this country are high for my finances and (to you, my dear sir, I will add) too numerous expenses. I do not wish to reduce his, perhaps well-founded, expectations, but it behoves me to consult my own means of complying with them.

“ I had been in hopes that a young man of no great expectation might have *begun* the world with me for about fifty or sixty pounds per annum, Virginia currency, but for one qualified in all respects to answer my purposes, I would have gone as far as seventy-five pounds—more would rather distress me.

“ My purposes are these : To write letters agreeably to what shall be dictated, do all other writing which shall be entrusted to him, keep accounts ; examine, arrange, and properly methodize my papers, which are in great disorder ; ride, at my expense, to do such business as I may have in this or other States, if I should find it more convenient to send than to attend myself the execution thereof ; and, what was not hinted at in my last, to initiate two little children (a girl of six and a boy of four years of age, descendants of the deceased Mr. Custis, who live with me and are very promising) in the first rudiments of education ; this to both parties would be mere amusement, because it is not my desire that the children should be confined closely.

"If Mr. Falconer should incline to accept the above stipend in addition to his board, washing, and mending, and *you*—for I would rather have your *own opinion* of the gentleman than the *report* of a thousand others in his favor,—upon a close investigation of his character, temper, and moderate political tenets (for, supposing him an Englishman, he may come with the prejudices and doctrines of his country), should find him competent to the duties above mentioned, the sooner he comes the better my purposes would be promoted."

Mr. Falconer did not come. The next January Mr. Tobias Lear, a native of Portsmouth, N. H., a graduate of Harvard College, recommended by Gen. Lincoln, did come. He filled this delicate and responsible position until Washington's death.

All other interests now merged in the determinations for Union. In March, 1785, Washington was one of the Virginia commissioners who met commissioners from Maryland for the purpose of making common arrangements about the navigation and fisheries of the Potomac. As it happened, Washington invited these gentlemen to Mount Vernon. They concerted together a plan for the appointment of a new commission, which should consider all the foreign commercial relations of the two States. This plan they sent to the legislature of Virginia; that body adopted it, and in January, 1786, passed the votes proposing the plans, which were afterwards approved by Congress, from which

the Convention at Philadelphia was born, which adopted the Federal Constitution.

It will thus be seen that it was at Washington's impulse and actually under his own roof that the practical measures began from which the present nation of the United States was born.

The letters already printed in this chapter, which are now published for the first time, show his views on the necessity of union so fully that it is hardly necessary to copy passages from letters already in print.

It is enough to say that Washington took not only a general interest in the great plan, but that he engaged himself personally in every detail which could help it forward.





CHAPTER XIII.

THE CONSTITUTION AND PRESIDENCY.

Letter to Mrs. Macaulay Graham, Historian—Letter to Mr. S. Purviance—Western Settlements—Political Reasons for Commercial Intercourse—Visit from Michaux, Botanist—Letter to Lafayette, with Present of Hams—Letter to Dr. William Gordon, about His History of the Revolution—Federal Convention—Washington Its President—Notes from Diary, Time of Convention—Contemporary Opinion—Division of Parties—Journey to New York—Ovation at Trenton—Cabinet “Progresses”—Table Furniture—Second Term of Service—Discouraging Position of Affairs—Genet’s Intrigues—Cabinet Changes—The Whiskey Insurrection—New Change in the Cabinet—National Prosperity—Farewell to Office—Return to Mount Vernon.

AMONG the private letters of the year 1786 is the following to the historian, Mrs. Graham,¹ a lady whose name is not yet wholly forgotten. Her relationship to the greater historian, Lord Macaulay, has recently recalled her to memory :

“MOUNT VERNON, January 10, 1786.

“I wish my expressions would do justice to my feelings, that I might convey to you adequate ideas of my gratitude for those favorable sentiments with which the letter you did me the honor to write to me from New York is replete.

¹ Catharine Macaulay Graham.

"The plaudit of a lady so celebrated as Mrs. Macaulay Graham is, could not fail of making a deep impression upon my sensibility ; and my pride was more than a little flattered by your approbation of my conduct through an arduous and painful contest.

"During the time in which we supposed you to have been on your journey to New York, we participated in the distresses in which we were sure you must have been involved, on account of the intemperature of the air, which exceeded the heat, common in this country at the most inclement season ; and though your letter was expressive of the great fatigue you had undergone, still we rejoiced that the journey was attended with no worse consequences.

"I hope and most sincerely wish that this letter may find you happily restored to your friends in England, whose anxiety for your return must, I am persuaded, have been great ; and that you will have experienced no inconvenience from your voyage to America.

"Mrs. Washington, who has a grateful sense of your favorable mention of her ; and Fanny Bassett and Major Washington, who, since we had the honor of your company, have joined their hands and fortunes, unite with me in respectful compliments to you, and every good wish that can render you and Mr. Graham happy. The little folks enjoy perfect health. The boy, whom you would readily have perceived was the pet of the family, gives promising hopes for maturer age."

The following letter to Mr. Purviance gives some details as to the new country of the West, which show how freely Washington was called upon in all quarters for information :

TO SAMUEL PURVIANCE, ESQUIRE.

“ MOUNT VERNON, 10th March, 1786.

“ SIR:—Your letter of the 6th instant is this moment put into my hands. Was it in my power, I would cheerfully answer your queries respecting the settlements on the Kanawha—the nature of the water, and of the soil.

“ But of the *first*, I only know from information that Colonel Lewis is settled there; from his own mouth I learnt that it was his intention to do so, and to establish a town in the fork of the two rivers, where he proposed to fix families in the vicinity on his own lands. Of the second, I never could obtain any distinct account of the navigation. It has been variously represented,—favorably by some, extremely difficult by others,—in its passage through the Ganley Mountain (which, I presume, is the Laurel Hill); but the uncertainty of this matter will now soon be at an end, as there are commissioners appointed by this State to explore the navigation of that river, and the communication between it and James River with a view to a portage.

“ This, equally with the extension of the Potomac navigation, was part of my original plan, and equally urged by me to our Assembly; for my object was to connect the Western and Eastern or Atlantic States together by strong commercial ties.

“ I am a friend, therefore, to every channel that can be opened, and wish the people to have choice. The Kanawha and James rivers, if the obstacles in the former are not great, are certainly the shortest and best for the settlers thereon, for those on the Ohio below, above perhaps as high as the Little Kanhawa and for the country immediately west of it.

“The Monongahela and Youghiogeny with the Potomac are most convenient for all the settlers from the little Kanawha, inclusively, to Fort Pitt and upwards, and west as far as the Lakes.

“Susquehanna and the Alleghany above Fort Pitt some distance will accommodate a third district of country, and may, for aught I know, be equally convenient to the trade of the Lakes. All of them, therefore, have my best wishes; for, as I have observed already, my object and my aim are political. If we cannot bind those people to us by interest, and it is not otherwise to be effected but by a commercial knot, we shall be no more to them after a while than Great Britain or Spain, and they may be as closely linked with one or other of those powers as we wish them to be with us, and, in that event, they may be a severe thorn in our sides.

“With respect to the nature of the soil on the Kanawha, the bottoms are fine, but the lands adjoining are broken. In some places the hills are very rich, in others piney and very poor; but the principal reason, as I conceive, why the settlement has not progressed more, is that the greater part, if not all the good lands on the main river are in hands of persons who do not incline to reside thereon themselves, and possibly hold them too high for others, as there is a surrounding country open to them. This I take to be my own case, and might be an inducement to concur in any well-concerted measures to further a settlement, which might ultimately, not at too great a distance, subserve my interest in that quarter.

“The great Kanawha is a long river, with very little interruption for a considerable distance. No very large waters empty into it, I believe; Elk River, Coal River, and a creek called Pokitellico below the falls, and Green River

above them, are the most considerable. I am glad to hear that the Susquehanna Canal is so well advanced.

"I thank you for the offer of Mr. Nielson's services in the Western country, and am, with very great esteem and regard, dear sir, etc."

In the summer of 1786, the botanist Michaux, to whose research this country is so much indebted, was on a visit to Mount Vernon, where he was introduced by Lauzun. The following letter of the same date to Lafayette is worth preserving as an amusing record of the Mount Vernon house-keeping.

" MOUNT VERNON, June 8, 1786.

" MY DEAR MARQUIS:—You would be surprised at the old date of the letter herewith sent you, were I not to tell you that the vessel which carries it was to have sailed agreeable to the date, and by information was to do so every day since. Nothing new has occurred since it was written, nor should I have given you the trouble of a second letter by the same ship, had I not forgotten to mention in my last that Mrs. Washington had packed and sent for Madame de la Fayette's acceptance a barrel of Virginia hams. I do not know that they are better, or so good as you make in France (and you know the Virginia ladies value themselves on the goodness of their bacon), yet we recollect that it is a dish of which you are fond, she prevailed on me to ask yours and Madame de la Fayette's acceptance of them.

"I wanted to have accompanied them with an anchor of old peach brandy, but could not provide any which I thought of such a quality as would do credit to the distillery of this liquor, and therefore sent none; and after all,

both perhaps would have been better furniture for your canteens on a long wet march than for your table in Paris."

Dr. William Gordon of Massachusetts was this year preparing to publish his "History of the Revolution." According to the painful custom of the time, he was soliciting subscriptions which should justify the expense of printing. The following letter shows how kindly Washington, though in the midst of national cares, lent himself to such an application.

"MOUNT VERNON, 20 April, 1786.

"DEAR SIR:—Mr. Lund Washington having expressed a wish to quit business and live in retirement and ease, I could not oppose his inclination; and his having carried these desires into effect, that kind of business which he usually transacted for me is now thrown on my shoulders, in addition to what they bore before, and has left me less time than ever for my numerous correspondences and other avocations. I mention this by way of apology for not having acknowledged the receipt of your several late favors at an earlier date.

"As soon as your subscription papers came to my hands I offered one in Alexandria, and sent another to Fredericksburgh. From the first a specific return has been made of the subscribers, and is now enclosed; from the other, eleven pounds have been sent me without the paper; the gentleman (the Hon. James Mercer, Esq., one of the judges of our general courts) having informed me that he would take it with him to Richmond, and endeavor to increase the number of subscribers there. The sum of eleven pounds added to the amount of the paper enclosed, makes £42, with which I have bought a bill on Rhode

Island. I endeavored to get one on Boston, but could not without waiting, which I thought might be more inconvenient than the negotiation at the former place.

“Your Cypher came safely to hand. I have not had leisure to examine it, but presume no difficulty will arise in the use. I have laid it by till occasion may call it forth.

“From the purport of your letters, you must be on the eve of your departure for Europe. My best wishes, in which Mrs. Washington and the family join me, are offered for a prosperous voyage, and the accomplishment of your plans.”

The Federal Convention, as we now call it, met in Philadelphia on the second of May, 1787. It sat four months. Virginia had sent seven delegates, of whom Washington was the first. He was, almost of course, elected its president unanimously. To prepare himself for the responsibility, he had read with care the history of ancient and modern confederacies. “There is a paper in his handwriting which contains an abstract of each, and in which are noted, in a methodical order, their chief characteristics, the kinds of authority they possessed, their modes of operation, and their defects. The confederacies analyzed in this paper are the Lycian, Amphictyonic, Achæan, Helvetic, Belgic, and Germanic.” He gave close attention to the business of the Convention. When it was in Committee of the Whole, Mr. Gorham of Massachusetts presided.

At the end of the session, in an impressive speech, he congratulated the Convention upon its success,

and from that moment gave his whole influence to secure the adoption of the Constitution.

The following notes on the Convention, from Washington's diary, are interesting, though the obligation of secrecy prevented his inserting any mention of the daily business.

" May 9, 1787.—Crossed from Mount Vernon to Mr. Digges's a little after sunrise, and, pursuing the route by the way of Baltimore, dined at Mr. Richard Henderson's in Bladensburg, and lodged at Major Snowden's, where, feeling very severely a violent headache and sick stomach, I went to bed early.

" 10th.—A very great appearance of rain in the morning, and a little falling, induced me, though well recovered, to wait till about eight o'clock before I set off. At one o'clock I arrived at Baltimore; dined at the Fountain Inn, and supped and lodged at Dr. McHenry's; rain in the evening.

" 11th.—Set off before breakfast; rode twelve miles to Skirrett's; baited there, and proceeded without halting (weather threatening) to the ferry at Havre de Grace, where I dined but could not cross, the wind being turbulent and squally. Lodged there.

" 12th.—With difficulty, on account of the wind, crossed the Susquehanna. Breakfasted at the ferry-house on the east side. Dined at the Head of Elk (Hollingsworth's tavern), and lodged at Wilmington. At the Head of Elk I was overtaken by Mr. Francis Corbin, who took a seat in my carriage.

" 13th.—About eight o'clock Mr. Corbin and myself set out, and dined at Chester (Mr. Wilky's), where I was met by Generals Mifflin (now Speaker of the Pennsylvania

Assembly), Knox, and Varnum, Colonel Humphreys and Menges, and Majors Jackson and Nicholas, with whom I proceeded to Philadelphia. At Gray's Ferry, the city light-horse, commanded by Colonel Miles, met me, and escorted me in; and the artillery officers, who stood arranged, saluted me as I passed. Alighted through a crowd at Mr. House's; and being again warmly and kindly pressed by Mr. and Mrs. Robert Morris to lodge with them, I did so, and had my baggage removed thither. Waited on the president, Dr. Franklin, as soon as I got to town. On my arrival the bells were chimed.

"14th.—This being the day appointed for the Convention to meet, such members as were in town assembled at the State-house; but only two States being represented, namely, Virginia and Pennsylvania, agreed to attend at the same place at eleven o'clock to-morrow. Dined in a family way at Mr. Morris's.

"15th.—Repaired at the hour appointed to the State-house, but no more States being represented than yesterday, though several more members had come in, we agreed to meet again to-morrow. Governor Randolph, of Virginia, came in to-day. Dined with the members of the general meeting of the Society of the Cincinnati.

"16th.—No more than two States being yet represented, agreed, till a quorum of them should be formed, to alter the hour of meeting at the State-house to one o'clock. Dined at the president's, Dr. Franklin's, and drank tea and spent the evening at Mr. John Penn's.

"17th.—Mr. Rutledge, from Charleston, and Mr. Charles Pinckney, from Congress, having arrived, gave a representation to South Carolina, and Colonel Mason, getting in this evening, placed all the delegates from Virginia on the floor of the Convention. Dined at Mr. Powel's, and drank tea there.

"18th.—The representation from New York appeared on the floor to-day. Dined at Gray's Ferry, and drank tea at Mr. Morris's; after which accompanied Mrs. Morris and some other ladies to hear a Mrs. O'Connel read. The lady, being reduced in circumstances, had recourse to this expedient to obtain a little money. Her performance was tolerable; at the College Hall.

"19th.—No more States represented. Dined at Mr. Ingersoll's; spent the evening at my lodgings, and retired to my room soon.

"20th.—Dined with Mr. and Mrs. Morris and other company at their farm, called the Hills; returned in the afternoon, and drank tea at Mr. Powel's.

"21st.—Delaware State was represented. Dined and drank tea at Mr. Bingham's in great splendor.

"22d.—The representation from North Carolina was completed, which made a representation for five States. Dined and drank tea at Mr. Morris's.

"23d.—No more States being represented, I rode to General Mifflin's to breakfast, after which, in company with him, Mr. Madison, Mr. Rutledge, and others, I crossed the Schuylkill above the Falls, visited Mr. Peters's, Mr. Penn's seat, and Mr. William Hamilton's. Dined at Mr. Chew's with the wedding guests (Colonel Howard, of Baltimore, having married his daughter Peggy). Drank tea there in a very large circle of ladies.

"24th.—No more States represented. Dined and drank tea at Mr. John Ross's. One of my postilion boys (Paris) being sick, requested Dr. Jones to attend him.

"25th.—Another delegate coming in from the State of New Jersey, gave it a representation, and increased the number to seven, which, forming a quorum of the thir-

teen, the members present resolved to organize the body, when, by a unanimous vote, I was called up to the chair as president. Major William Jackson was appointed secretary, and a committee was chosen, consisting of three members, to prepare rules and regulations for conducting the business, and, after appointing door-keepers, the Convention adjourned till Monday, to give time to the committee to report the matter referred to them. Returned many visits to-day. Dined at Mr. Thomas Willing's, and spent the evening at my lodgings.

"26th.—Returned all my visits this forenoon. Dined with a club at the City Tavern, and spent the evening at my quarters writing letters.

"27th.—Went to the Romish church to high mass. Dined, drank tea, and spent the evening at my lodgings.

"28th.—Met in Convention at ten o'clock. Two States more, namely, Massachusetts and Connecticut, were on the floor to-day. Established rules agreeably to the plan brought in by the committee for the government of the Convention, and adjourned. Dined at home, and drank tea in a large circle at Mr. Francis's.

"29th.—Attended Convention and dined at home; after which accompanied Mrs. Morris to the benefit concert of a Mr. Juhan.

"30th.—Attended Convention; dined with Mr. Vaughan; drank tea, and spent the evening at a Wednesday evening's party at Mr. and Mrs. Lawrence's.

"31st.—The State of Georgia came on the floor of the Convention to day, which made a representation of ten States. Dined at Mr. Francis's, and drank tea with Mrs. Meredith.

"June 1st.—Attending in Convention; and, nothing being suffered to transpire, no minutes of the proceedings

have been or will be inserted in this diary. Dined with Mr. Penn, and spent the evening at a superb entertainment at Bush Hill, given by Mr. Hamilton, at which were more than a hundred guests.

"2d.—Major Jenifer coming in with sufficient powers for the purpose, gave a representation to Maryland, which brought all the States in the Union into convention except Rhode Island, which had refused to send a delegate. Dined at the City Tavern with the club, and spent the evening at my own quarters.

"September 17th.—Met in convention, when the Constitution received the unanimous assent of eleven States, and of Colonel Hamilton of New York, the only delegate from thence in Convention, and was subscribed to by every member present, except Governor Randolph and Colonel Mason from Virginia, and Mr. Gerry from Massachusetts. The business being thus closed, the members adjourned to the City Tavern, dined together, and took a cordial leave of each other, after which I returned to my lodgings, did some business with, and received the papers from, the secretary of the Convention, and retired to meditate on the momentous work which had been executed, after not less than five, for a large part of the time six, and sometimes seven, hours' sitting every day (except Sundays and the ten days' adjournment to give a committee an opportunity and time to arrange the business) for more than four months."

Mr. Gladstone has said of this Constitution, that it is, "so far as I can see, the most wonderful work ever struck off at a given time by the brain and purpose of man."¹ Of course, at the moment, no

¹ "Kin beyond Sea," by W. E. Gladstone, *N. Am. Rev.*, vol. 127, p. 185.

one knew of its wonderful success. John Adams said, in a letter to Price : " We have made a Constitution which will keep us from cutting each other's throats for a few years longer." Washington speaks of it more hopefully. The truth was that on his own acceptance of the Presidency, and on the good fortune of the country that it had such a man to make the first President, the success of the whole depended. He was chosen, of course, by the unanimous vote of the electoral college, the votes for Vice-President showing, already, the division between the Northern States and the Southern, or, if the reader pleases to say so, between the commercial and the agricultural States. It was a division which, without very strict lines, came to represent the differences between the people who wanted a strong government and the people who, for political purposes, took the ground that a weak central government was to be preferred. So soon, however, as these last people were in power, they became as strong partisans of a strong government as any Washington or Adams in the land.

He left Mount Vernon on the 15th of April to assume the Presidency. He says in his diary : " I bade adieu to Mount Vernon, to private life, and to domestic felicity." His journey was a triumphal procession. At every point he met companies of the citizens, who addressed him and to whose addresses he had to respond. The history of one of

the welcomes thus rendered to him has lingered in the heart of the nation, because a quaint picture, supposed to represent it, was early published—and had a wide circulation. To this hour, copies of this print, more or less precise, are sold by the peddlers. It may be found in cabins on the Pacific shore. The scene of this ovation was Trenton, in New Jersey, where he arrived on the 21st of April, 1789. The sober, but quaint account of his friend, Judge Marshall, was in these words :

“ At Trenton he was welcomed in a manner as new as it was pleasing. In addition to the usual demonstrations of respect and attachment, which were given by the discharge of cannon, by military corps, by private persons of distinction, the gentler sex prepared in their own taste a tribute of applause indicative of the grateful recollection in which they held their deliverance twelve years before from a formidable enemy. On the bridge over the creek, which passes through the town, was erected a triumphal arch, highly ornamented with laurels and flowers, and supported by thirteen pillars, each entwined with wreaths of evergreen. On the front arch was inscribed, in large gilt letters,

THE DEFENDER OF THE MOTHERS
WILL BE THE
PROTECTOR OF THE DAUGHTERS.

“ On the centre of the arch above the inscription was a dome or cupola of flowers and evergreens, encircling the dates of two memorable events, which were peculiarly interesting to New Jersey. The first was the battle of

Trenton, and the second the bold and judicious stand made by the American troops at the same creek, by which the progress of the British army was arrested on the evening preceding the battle of Princeton.

“At this place he was met by a party of matrons leading their daughters dressed in white, who carried baskets of flowers in their hands, and sang, with exquisite sweetness, an ode of two stanzas composed for the occasion.

“Welcome, mighty chief, once more
Welcome to this grateful shore :
Now no mercenary foe
Aims again the fatal blow ;
Aims at thee the fatal blow.

“Virgins fair and matrons grave,
Those thy conquering arms did save,
Build for thee triumphal bowers.
Strew, ye fair, his way with flowers ;
Strew your Hero's way with flowers.”

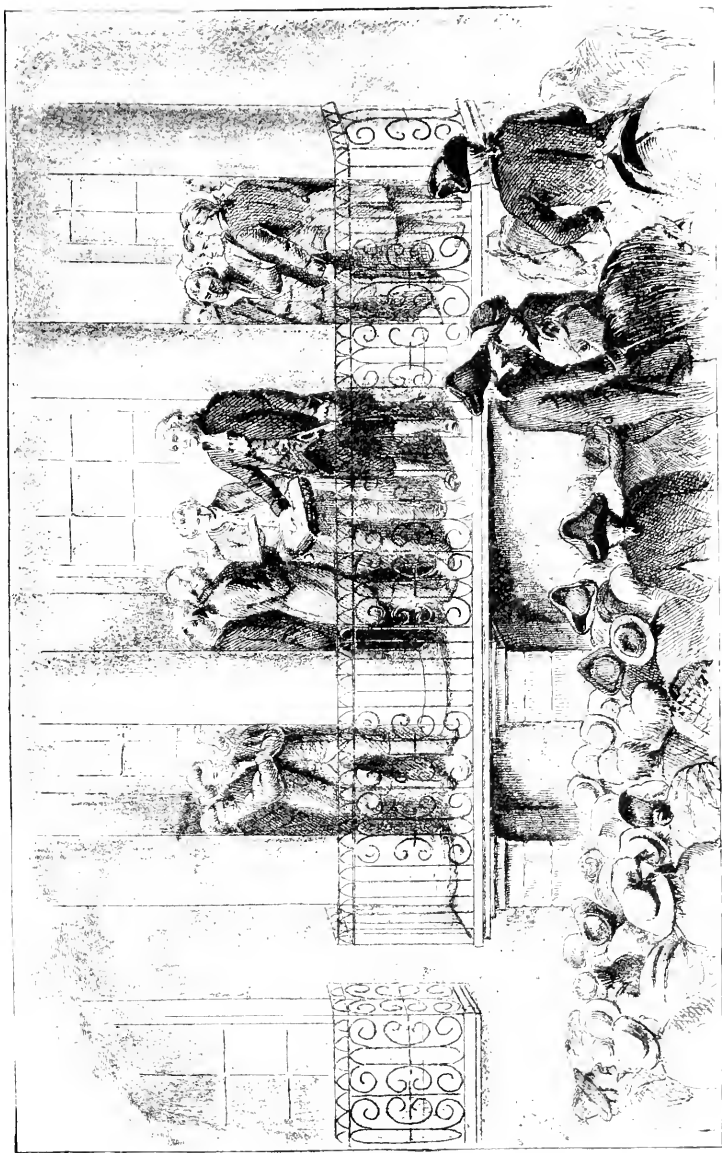
The following communication was made to the ladies immediately afterwards in writing :

“General Washington cannot leave this place without expressing his acknowledgments to the matrons and young ladies, who received him in so novel and grateful a manner at the triumphal arch in Trenton, for the exquisite sensations he experienced in that affecting moment.

“The astonishing contrast between his former and actual situation at the same spot, the elegant taste with which it was adorned for the present occasion, and the innocent appearance of the white-robed choir, who met him with the gratulatory song, have made such impressions on his remembrance as, he assures them, will never be effaced.”

It is not the place of this book to follow the history of the country, the establishment of the precedents of administration, the birth of parties in the eight years which followed, so laborious and so irritating. It is enough to say that Washington called to his cabinet Hamilton and Knox, who came to represent the party of strong government, which was the party of the Northern and commercial States; and, on the other hand, as a counterpoise, Jefferson and Randolph, who represented the Southern, or States'-rights parties, which found favor mostly in the agricultural States. Between their jealousies Washington tried, not unsuccessfully, to hold an even hand. But he was, of course, pledged to a strong government, and the weight of his character and reputation was more and more used, and justly used, by the leaders of what became the Federal party. In the very first summer he fell very sick, and for a few days his illness was thought to endanger his life. He was confined six weeks to his bed, and it was three months before his strength was restored. Indeed, he never fully recovered. Congress adjourned after its difficult and critical session in the autumn, and Washington in October left New York for a tour through New England. He was absent a month, travelling in his own carriage with his own horses, accompanied by his private secretaries. He was everywhere received with enthusiasm, and this was the first of a

INAUGURATION.



series of journeys, which, in the phrase of the time, came to be called "progresses." In the next year he made a similar journey to the State of Rhode Island, after that State had joined the Union, and at the beginning of his second term of office he passed through the Southern States in a similar way.

A letter to Gouverneur Morris, of the autumn of 1789, and another of the spring of 1790, may be printed, as illustrations of days and thoughts not wholly given to public difficulties.

". . . This letter is an evidence, though of a trifling sort, that in the commencement of any work one rarely sees the progress or end of it. I declared to you in the beginning that I had little to say. I have got beyond the second page, and find I have a good deal to add; but that no time or paper may be wasted in a useless preface, I will come to the point.

"Will you, then, my good sir, permit me to ask the favor of you to provide and send to me by the first ship bound to this place, or Philadelphia, mirrors for a table, with neat and fashionable, but not expensive, ornaments for them, such as will do credit to your taste? The mirrors will, of course, be in pieces, that they may be adapted to the company (the size of it, I mean). The aggregate length of them may be ten feet; the breadth two feet; the panels may be plated ware, or any thing else more fashionable, but not more expensive. If I am defective, recur to what you have seen on Mr. Robert Morris's table for my ideas *generally*.

"Whether these things can be had on better terms

and in a better style in Paris than in London, I will not undertake to decide.

“I recollect, however, to have had plated ware from both places, and those from the latter came cheapest; but a single instance is no evidence of a general fact.

“Of plated ware may be made, I conceive, handsome and useful coolers for wine *at* and *after* dinner. Those I am in need of, viz.: *eight* double ones (for madeira and claret, the wines usually drunk at dinner); each of the apertures to be sufficient to contain a pint decanter, with an allowance in the depth of it for ice at bottom, so as to raise the neck of the decanter above the cooler; between the apertures a handle is to be placed, by which these double coolers may with convenience be removed from one part of the table to another. For the wine *after* dinner, *four* quadruple coolers will be necessary, each aperture of which to be of the size of a *quart* decanter, or quart bottle, for four sorts of wine; these decanters or bottles to have ice at bottom, and to be elevated thereby as above; a central handle here also will be wanting.

“Should my description be defective, your imagination is fertile, and on this I shall rely. One idea, however, I must impress you with, and that is in whole or in part to avoid extravagance.

“For extravagance would not consort with my own inclination, nor with the example which ought to be set. The reason why I prefer an aperture for every decanter or bottle to coolers that would contain two and four, is that whether full or empty the bottles will always stand upright, and never be at variance with each other.

“This letter, enclosed with your draught accompanying it, will provide the means of payment. The clumsy manner in which merchants (or rather their tradesmen) exe-

cute commissions where taste is required, for persons at a distance, must be my apology, and the best that can be offered by,

“ Dear sir, your most obedient and affectionate humble servant,
G. WASHINGTON.”

“ Mrs. Washington presents her compliments to you.

“ P. S.—I was in the very act of sealing this letter when yours of the 31st of July from Dieppe was sent into my hands. Accept my sincere thanks for the important communications contained in it, and for the table which accompanied. I shall add no more now, except that in the morning I commence a tour, though rather late in the season, through the States eastward of this.

“ Adieu, yours,

“ G. WASHINGTON.”

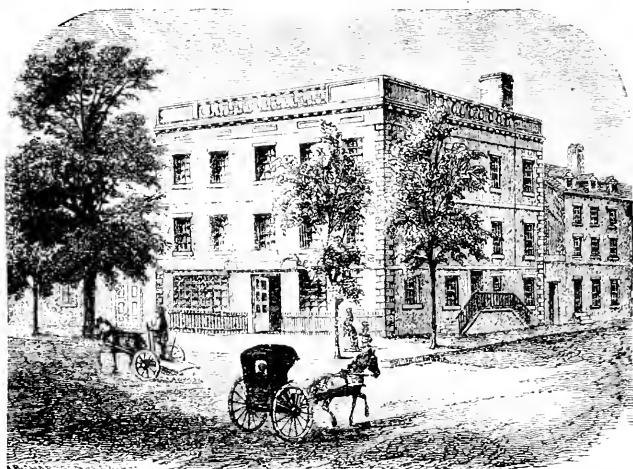
TO GOUVERNEUR MORRIS.

“ NEW YORK, March 1, 1790.

“ DEAR SIR:—Since my last to you, dated the thirteenth of October, I have removed to a larger house (the one lately occupied by the Count de Moustier), enlarged my table, and, of course, my guests; let me therefore request the favor of you to add two pieces to the number of plateaux required in the above letter, and ornaments equivalent—for it will take these *in addition* to what I before asked to decorate the present table. I would thank you also for sending to me at the same time fourteen (of what I believe are called) patent lamps, similar to those used at Mr. R. Morris’s, but less costly—two or, at most, three guineas apiece will fully answer my purpose. Along with these, but of a more ordinary sort (say at about one guinea each), I should be glad to receive a

dozen other patent lamps for the hall, entries, and stairs of my house. These lamps, it is said, consume their own smoke, do no injury to furniture, give more light, and are cheaper than candles. Order a sufficiency of spare glasses and abundance of wicks.

“ If I had not in my former letter on this subject offered reasons, accompanied with an apology for giving you so much trouble, I would, to keep up the custom, do it now,



FIRST PRESIDENTIAL MANSION, FRANKLIN SQUARE, NEW YORK.

although I persuade myself you had rather comply with my request than be troubled with the best apology I could make for giving it.

“ Being well persuaded that you are regularly informed of the proceedings of the second session of Congress, the disposition of that body, so far as it has been developed, and of the general complexion of our public affairs, I shall

not trouble you with a repetition ; but shall with much truth assure you that I am

“Your affectionate friend and obedient humble servant,

“G. WASHINGTON.

“P. S.—The enclosed requests Messrs. Welch and Son to pay the cost of these articles.”

At the end of the four years of service, all the members of his cabinet advised him earnestly to permit the country to elect him a second time. He was very desirous to retire from public life. But the difficulties with England and France alone, and the irritation belonging to the birth of parties, were reasons weighty enough to compel him to remain in office. It is now generally forgotten that, at the end of four years more, when he had been President for eight years, the same question came up, whether it would not be wise that he should stand for a third term. In fact, many of the States made the choice of their electors, not knowing whether the President would, or would not, consent to a third election. Even then it was distinctly understood that the country would abide no other President than he, if he were willing to retain the office. But Washington, if in fact he wavered at all, soon determined to leave the nation, which had been born under his care, to try the fortunes of the precedents which he had helped to establish.

He was himself inaugurated at New York. But it was not long, before the seat of government was

removed to Philadelphia, and in a vote, which proved critical in the history of the country, it was afterwards determined that the Federal city, as it was called, which was provided for by the Constitution, should be established at the point on the Potomac, below Georgetown, where it now is. There can be no doubt that Washington himself had a large share in the determination of this seat of government. So long as he was himself President, however, Philadelphia remained the capital.

He did not look forward cheerfully to the second term of public duties. He had before him an Indian war in the West ; he was sadly concerned for Lafayette's safety, and even for his life. Soon after he received the news of the death of Louis Sixteenth, and so soon as war began between France and Great Britain, he felt the necessity of maintaining neutrality between these powers. He was at Mount Vernon when he received the news. But he hastened back to Philadelphia, and there issued the first of the proclamations of neutrality which have played so important a part in the politics of the country from that day to this. The Frenchman, Genet, who came as ambassador from the new republic, appeared in Philadelphia not long afterwards. He actually attempted to rouse the country against its chief. But the national pride was awakened, and Washington probably gained in popularity with his own countrymen from the

Frenchman's impertinent interference. It was, however, in the midst of these calumnies that Washington, in a cabinet meeting, cried out in the agony of his heart, that he had never repented but once "having slipped the moment of resigning his office," and that was every moment since. He declared that he would rather be in his grave than in his present situation, he had rather be on his farm than be made emperor of the world. "And yet," he said, indignantly, "they charge me with wanting to be king."

It was at this period that Hamilton and Jefferson both withdrew from the cabinet, and Washington was obliged to fill their places. He did so by taking as Secretary of State, Randolph, the Attorney-General. Hamilton remained in office till the end of the session of Congress. Soon after Washington was obliged to take some measures against the Algerine corsairs, and, under the pressure of the government, six frigates were ordered by Congress. This was, however, in the face of a bitter opposition, and the bill passed by only a small majority, so unwilling was the country to maintain any permanent national force. The difficulties of maintaining a neutral position became greater and greater with every new year. In the summer of 1794, the people of Western Pennsylvania rose in insurrection against the excise laws by which the United States government had taxed their whiskey.

On the 7th of August, Washington issued a proclamation warning the insurgents to disperse. On the 25th, he issued a second, and then went himself to Carlisle that he might the better direct the troops whom he had ordered out to suppress the insurrection. The promptness with which he acted encouraged and aroused the country. He placed the troops under the care of his old friend, Light-Horse Harry Lee, who was now Governor of Virginia. And so strong a military display was made that the insurgents yielded without a final resort to arms.

With the spring of 1795, Hamilton was succeeded in the cabinet by Wolcott, and Knox, Washington's friend for twenty years, left the War Department in the hands of Pickering, who had been Postmaster-General. With the next year came the bitter opposition to what was known as "Jay's Treaty," and it soon appeared that Randolph, the American Secretary of State, had compromised himself in his relations with the English government. He was obliged to resign. Pickering was made Secretary of State, and McHenry appointed in his place as Secretary of War. Washington's relations with McHenry were afterwards so close that we shall find many letters from him written in the most confidential intimacy.

Such were the breezes (which popular opinion thought to be tempests) which distressed, divided,

not to say convulsed, the cabinet. But, meanwhile, the majestic tide of the national prosperity flowed on. Emigration went steadily forward; new improvements were made in agriculture and in invention. The country grew richer and stronger almost without knowing it, and its real history is to be found in the settlement of the West, in the opening of intercourse between State and State, in the immense development of foreign commerce, and in the wonderful increase of the crop of cotton, a crop which the country hardly knew to exist when Washington's administration began.

In tracing Washington's life, we shall learn more from his private letters, which show his interest in one and another of these details, than we should if we followed assiduously the course of political intrigue.

He was at last again free. He gave a farewell dinner on the third of March to the foreign ministers and their wives, Mr. Adams, the new President, and his wife, Mr. Jefferson, and other gentlemen and ladies. When the cloth was removed, Washington filled his glass. "Ladies and gentlemen," he said, "this is the last time I shall drink your health as a public man. I do it with sincerity, wishing you all possible happiness." The next day an immense crowd gathered about Congress Hall. Mr. Jefferson took the oath as Vice-President, and Mr. Adams took the oath as President. Wash-

ington was received with enthusiastic cheers and acclamations, and the waving of handkerchiefs. At the close of the ceremony, people rushed to look their last at him. So soon as he was in the street, he waved his hat in acknowledgment of the cheers; his gray hair streamed in the wind, and his countenance was "radiant with benignity." As he turned to the crowd, it assumed a "grave and almost melancholy expression," his eyes were bathed in tears, his emotions were too great for utterance, and only by gestures could he indicate his thanks and convey his farewell blessing." In the evening he attended a splendid farewell banquet in the amphitheatre, where were the foreign ministers, the heads of departments, and other persons of note. But his public life was virtually over, and with the ladies of his family, and the young Lafayette and his preceptors, he returned to Mount Vernon.





CHAPTER XIV.

CLOSING YEARS AT MOUNT VERNON.

Return to Mount Vernon—Building and Repairs—Letter to Strickland—To Sinclair—Habits of Home-Life—Library at Mount Vernon—Paintings and Engravings—Lawrence Lewis and Nellie Custis—George Washington Lafayette—Letter to Anderson—Letter on Lending Money—Letter to Goodhue—Commander-in-Chief Again—Miss Custis's Marriage—Mrs. Washington—The Last Year—Letter to Robert Lewis—Washington's Final Illness—His Death—Dr. Craik's Treatment.

THERE can be no doubt that his return to Mount Vernon was a happy event indeed to him. Whether Mrs. Washington enjoyed so much the retirement of private life, does not appear ; but, on the other hand, there is nothing to show that she sighed for the excitements of Philadelphia. This is certain, that Washington himself was glad to be free of this "hornet's nest," if one may cite the words which he had used on an earlier occasion. He returned to the details of the plantation life with the same interest with which he had assumed them at the end of the French war.

He had, however, many diversions and occupations now, which he had not in those days. It would seem that hardly a week passed without some visitor, very likely from Europe, who was to

be entertained with the hospitality, better than princely, of this pleasant abode.

The house required considerable repairs, and he built another house for the safe-keeping of his papers, military, civil, and private. He says in a letter to a friend :

“I am already surrounded by joiners, masons, and painters ; and such is my anxiety to be out of their hands that I have scarcely a room to put a friend into, or to sit in myself, without the music of hammers or the odoriferous scent of paint.”

But there were other odors. The spring opens, and he delights in his country life.

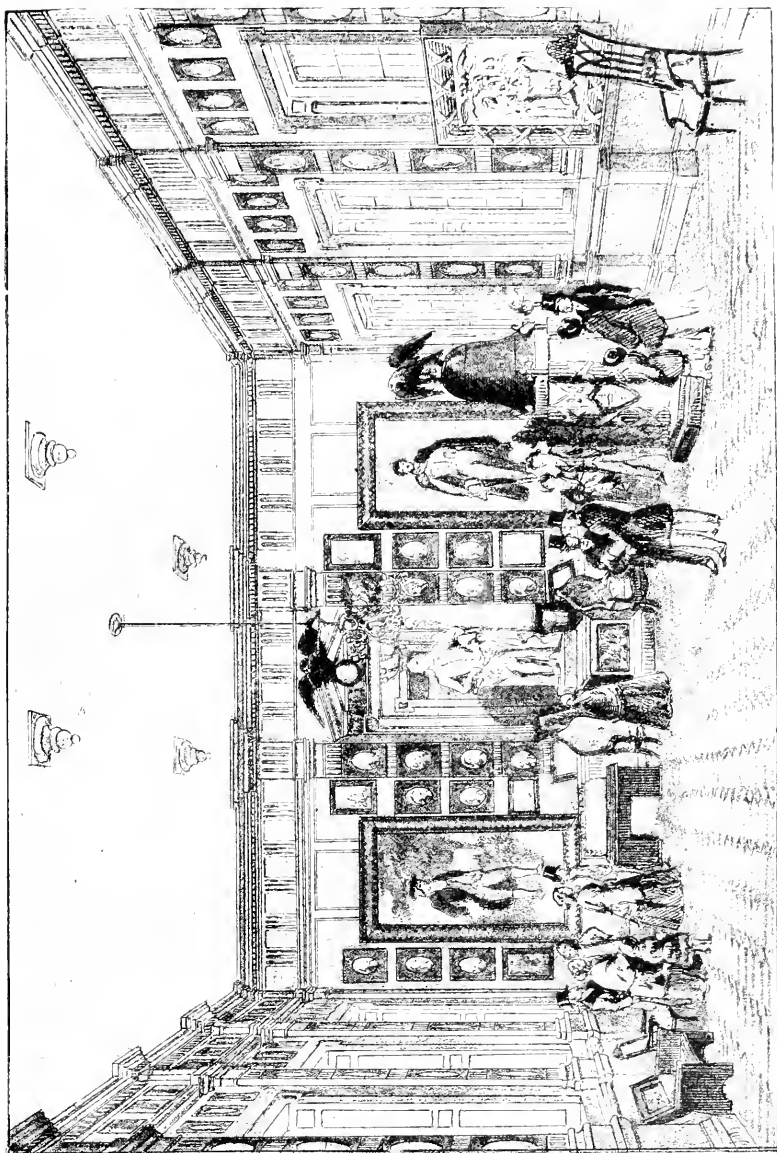
“Having turned aside into the narrow paths of private life, I shall leave with those whose duty it is to consider subjects of this sort [politics], and, as every good citizen ought to do, conform to whatsoever the ruling power shall decide. To make and sell a little flour annually, to repair houses going fast to ruin, to build one for the security of my papers of a public nature, and amuse myself in agricultural pursuits, will constitute my employment for the few years I have to remain on this terrestrial globe. If, also, I could now and then meet the friends I esteem, it would fill the measure and add zest to my enjoyments. But if ever this happens, it must be under my own vine and fig-tree, as I do not think it probable that I shall go twenty miles beyond them.”

In another letter he gives some more detail as to agricultural occupations. He is writing to William Strickland in England. He says that he has had

less leisure than he expected, to discharge his "epistolary obligations," for that he has never been more closely employed than he is now in repairing the ravages of an eight years' absence; "engaging workmen of different sorts, providing and looking after them, together with the necessary attention to my farms, have occupied all my time since I have been at home. I was far from entertaining sanguine hopes of my success to procure tenants from Great Britain; but being desirous of rendering the evening of my life as tranquil and free from care as the nature of my case would permit, I was willing to make the experiment." Such schemes as these for introducing foreign emigration, constantly occupied his mind. In a letter to Sir John Sinclair, who is still remembered as a public-spirited English leader in farming, he says:

"There are farm lands everywhere for sale. If, therefore, events should induce you to cast an eye towards America, there need be no apprehension of your being accommodated to your liking; and if I could be made useful to you therein, you might command my services with the greatest freedom.

"Within full view of Mount Vernon, separated therefrom by water only, is one of the most beautiful sites on the river for sale, but of greater magnitude than you seem to have contemplated. It is called Belvoir, and belonged to George William Fairfax, who, were he living, would now be Baron Cameron, as his younger brother in this country, George William, dying without issue, at present is



INDEPENDENCE HALL, PHILADELPHIA.

though he does not take upon himself the title. This site was the residence of the above-named gentleman before he went to England. It was accommodated with very good buildings, which were burned soon after he left them. There is only two thousand acres of land belonging to the tract, surrounded in a manner by water. The mansion stood on high and commanding ground. The soil is not of the best quality ; but a considerable part of it, well-nigh level, might, with proper management, be properly cultivated. There are some small tenements on the estate, but the greater part thereof is in wood. At present it belongs to Thomas Fairfax, son of Baron Fairfax, who will not, as I said before, take upon himself the title of Baron Cameron."

The reader will imagine the interest with which Washington saw the decay of this fine property, with which he had such interesting early associations.

In writing to Strickland, he comments on the agriculture of Virginia, as many of the real leaders of Virginia have commented between that time and this. He says :

"It is indeed wretched ; but a leading if not a primary cause of its being so is, that instead of improving a little ground well, we attempt much and do but little. A half, a third, or even a fourth of what we mangle, well wrought and properly dressed, would produce more than the whole under our system of management. Yet such is the force of habit that we cannot depart from it ; the consequence of which is that we ruin the lands that are already cleared, and either cut down more wood, if we have it, or migrate

into the western country. I have endeavored, both in a public and private character, to encourage the establishment of boards of agriculture in this country; but hitherto in vain. And what is still more extraordinary, and scarcely to be believed, I have endeavored ineffectually to discard from my own estate the pernicious practice which is mentioned."

In another letter to Sinclair, written only two days after he was free, he said :

"On the 11th of December, I wrote you a long letter, and intended before the close of the last session of Congress, which ended on the 3d inst. conformably to the Constitution, to have addressed you again; but, oppressed as I was with the various occurrences incident thereto, especially in the latter part of it, it has not been in my power to do so during its continuance; and now the arrangements necessary to my departure from this city, for a more tranquil theatre, and for the indulgence of rural pursuits, will oblige me to suspend my purpose until I am fixed at Mount Vernon, where I expect soon to be, having resigned the chair of government to Mr. John Adams on Friday last, the day on which I completed my second four years' administration.

"Under the circumstances here mentioned, I should not have troubled you at this time with so short a letter but for the purpose of accompanying it with two or three pamphlets on the subject of agriculture, one of which treats more extensively on gypsum as a manure than any I have seen before. The other two will only serve to show that essays of a similar kind are making in this infant country.

"I am sorry to add that nothing final in Congress has

been decided respecting the institution of a National Board of Agriculture, recommended by me at the opening of the session. But this did not, I believe, proceed from any disinclination to the measure, but from their limited sitting, and a pressure of what they conceived more important business. I think it highly probable that next session will bring this matter to maturity."

The letter which has been cited shows that, like other farmers, he could not always have his own way. He goes on, in his letter to Strickland, to say :

"My system of agriculture is what I have described, and I am persuaded were I to proceed now, our skill would be improved by the alteration you have proposed. At the same time, I must observe that I have not found oats so great an exhauster as they are represented to be. But in most instances they follow wheat too closely, and the rotation will add an advantage in this and, perhaps, in some other respects."

It is interesting to observe, that after he was sixty years old he was not unwilling to receive and accept advice, even from persons who were comparatively strangers. It would seem from these latter letters, that he was gradually giving up the cultivation of tobacco. In a letter as early as 1789 he had said :

"Although a precise number of tobacco hills is, by my general direction, allotted to each plantation, yet my real intention is that no more ground shall be appropriated to this crop than what is either naturally good, for which

purpose small spots may be purchased, or what may be made strong by manuring of some kind or other; for my object is to labor for profit, and therefore to regard quality instead of quantity, there being, except in the article of manuring, no difference between attending a good plant and an indifferent one. But in any event, let the precise number of hills be ascertained, that an estimate may be formed of their yield to the thousand."

It is not the part of this book to go into such details any further than that they show his personal characteristics and the way in which the last years of his life were occupied. That these are not mere matters of theoretical correspondence, written on a rainy day to a distant friend, appears from the agricultural diary, which shows the personal attention which he gave to such affairs. In a letter to another friend he describes his daily life. He says that he begins his course with the sun. As has been said, the general tradition is that he rose at four o'clock every day. If at sun-rise he finds that his foremen are not in their places, he sends them "messages of sorrow for their indisposition." He then begins his personal examination. By the time he has accomplished these matters comes breakfast, a little after seven o'clock. After breakfast he mounts his horse and rides round his farm. This employs him until it is time to dress for dinner, at which he rarely misses seeing some strange faces of people who have come out of respect for him. "Pray, may not the word 'curiosity' answer

as well? And how different, this, from having a few social friends at a cheerful board!" The dinner-hour, as has been said, was two o'clock in the afternoon.

"The usual time of sitting at table, a walk, and tea, bring me within the door of candle light, previous to which, if not prevented by company, I resolve that as soon as the glimmering taper supplies the place of the great luminary, I will repair to my writing-table and answer the letters I have received. But when the lights are brought, I feel tired and disinclined to engage in this work, conceiving that the next night will do as well."

This remark will show that Washington had already learned the great rule which Talleyrand lays down: "You should always have time to spare, and rather put off till to-morrow, what you may not to-day do well and easily, than get into that hurry and flurry which is the necessary consequence of feeling one has too much to do." In thus accepting the limitations of human nature, Washington showed much more sense than Franklin did, when he laid down the opposite rule, which has been the ruin of so many well-meaning men and women: "Never put off till to-morrow that which can possibly be done to-day."

Washington goes on, with a vein of humor by no means unusual, to say:

"The next night comes and continues the same course of postponement; and so on. Having given you the

history of a day, it will serve for a year, and I am persuaded you will not require a second edition of it. But it may strike you that in this detail no mention is made of any portion of time allowed for reading. The remark would be just. For I have not looked into a book since I came home, nor shall I be able to do it, until I have discharged my workmen, probably not before the nights grow longer, when, perhaps, I may be looking in Domsday-book."

In this matter of reading, however, he does himself injustice, if we be foolish enough to accept the literal statement which he makes. At all events, the library of Mount Vernon was an excellent one for the time, and he was constantly receiving accessions to it from his foreign correspondents. Other accessions came from the zeal of friends, who sent him presentation copies. The literature of the house was curiously well up with the times. It is just possible, although he never says so, that by this time he read French sufficiently well for understanding the books in foreign languages, and many of the French writers of the day sent to him their writings. Thus he had Chastellux's *Travels*, in the French; he had (oddly enough, also in French) Sinclair's *Statistics*, together with the works of Monsieur Chamousset,¹ the *Letters of an American Farmer* (in French), Racine's *Germanicus*

¹ A French philanthropist, to whom is due the invention of that great change in modern civilization,—the establishment of local delivery by the post,—what men still call "the penny-post." Whether this is a blessing or a curse is not yet determined.

(in French), and many pamphlets on the opening events of the French Revolution.

The American Encyclopædia was already published, complete in eighteen volumes. It is interesting to observe that Washington's copy is valued by his appraisers at one hundred and fifty dollars.

The catalogue of the library contains the names of twelve hundred books and more than a hundred charts and other engravings. The books are largely military books, as might have been expected. It is probable, indeed, that Mrs. Washington had a separate collection of books, of a more distinctively literary character, which were reserved from the inventory of the collection. But, in the collection as it is described in this inventory, are thirty-four volumes of poems, and some twenty-seven novels.

Among the poems are Homer, in Pope's translation, but no Virgil ; Shakespeare, but not Milton ; Pope's complete works, but not Dryden. Burns, Ossian, Hudibras, and Barlow's Columbiad come in, and many poems on Washington's own fame—which, as has been said above, are forgotten elsewhere.

Very few private houses, in America, contained so many paintings and engravings as appear in the inventory of his will as belonging to Mount Vernon at that time. There are more than one hundred of them. The catalogue does not always say whether the pictures are prints or paintings.

In the inventory the following are named: "Two large gilt-framed pictures, representing the fall of rivers"; these are valued at one hundred and sixty dollars, and as two large looking-glasses are valued at only two hundred dollars, it may be presumed that silver dollars, not any depreciated currency, is intended.

Among engravings are a picture of Washington's family at Mount Vernon, one of Alfred visiting his noblemen, and one of Alfred dividing his loaf with the pilgrims. There were "ten pictures in the passage"; and on the different staircases there were pictures.

The busts of generals which were ordered in earlier life do not seem to have been recognized by the appraisers, but there are busts of Washington himself and of Paul Jones.

Washington found himself so much pressed by the strangers who were constantly arriving, that he addressed his nephew, Lawrence Lewis, to invite him to come to his house as his guest, but with the duty of relieving him of the trouble of entertaining company, particularly at night. As Washington himself retired at nine o'clock, he felt that it was due to his guests that some one should remain with them if they chose to keep longer awake. In consequence of this invitation, Lawrence Lewis became an occasional inmate at Mount Vernon. What followed was that he fell in love

with Miss Nelly Custis, Mrs. Washington's granddaughter, who had been adopted by Washington at their father's death, and had been brought up by him with the most affectionate care. It would seem that Miss Custis had very much her way with her grandfather, who says: "I can govern men, but I cannot govern girls." There is a letter of advice written to her when she was about to make her first appearance at a ball in Georgetown. He says to her:

"When the fire is beginning to kindle, and your heart growing warm, propound these questions to it: 'Who is this invader? Have I a competent knowledge of him? Is he a man of good character, a man of sense? (for be assured a sensible woman can never be happy with a fool). What has been his walk in life? Is his fortune sufficient to maintain me in the manner I have been accustomed to live in and as my sisters do live? And is he one to whom my friends can have no reasonable objection?' If all these interrogatories can be satisfactorily answered, there will remain but one more to be asked; that, however, is an important one. 'Have I sufficient ground to conclude that his affections are engaged by me?' Without this the heart of sensibility will struggle against a passion that is not reciprocated."¹

The family was accompanied to Mount Vernon in 1797 by George Washington Lafayette, the son of the Marquis, who was himself at the time in prison in Olmutz, in Austria. The young man was

¹ Manuscript letter cited by Mr. Irving.

now seventeen years old, and had spent two years in America with his tutor, Monsieur Frestel. They remained at Mount Vernon until October, when the joyful news reached him of the release of his father from confinement. Washington himself had exhausted every effort of American diplomacy to obtain Lafayette's freedom, in vain. But the arms of Napoleon were of more avail than the letters of Presidents. The first demand made by Napoleon in the preliminary conferences before the treaty of Campo Formio was that Lafayette should be released. In after-life Napoleon said that he never insisted on any article which was so strenuously resisted. So soon as this news arrived in America, the son and his tutor gladly returned to France. They took with them a charming letter for a father to receive. Washington writes :

“ His conduct since he first set his foot on American ground has been exemplary in every point of view, such as has gained him the esteem, affection, and confidence of all who have had the pleasure of his acquaintance. His filial affection and duty and his ardent desire to embrace his parents and sisters in the first moments of their release would not allow him to wait the authentic account of this much-desired event. But at the same time that I suggested the propriety of this, I could not withhold my assent to the gratification of his wishes to fly to the arms of those whom he holds most dear.”

In another letter of the same date he says to Gen. Dumas :

"His son and Mr. Frestel, who appears to have been his mentor, are and have been residents in my family since their arrival in this country, except in the first moments of it, and a modest, sensible, and well disposed youth he is."

The interest which he began again to take in the agriculture of Mount Vernon appears from the following careful letter which he wrote to Dr. James Anderson,¹ a Scotch writer on farming. We copy the whole of the letter.

WASHINGTON TO ANDERSON.

"MOUNT VERNON, 7 April, 1797.

"SIR:—A few days since, through the channel of our minister in London, I was favoured with the receipt of your third volume of essays, relating to agriculture and rural affairs, for which I pray you to accept my best thanks.

"I am once more seated under my own vine and fig-tree, and hope to spend, in peaceful retirement, the remainder of my days, which, in the ordinary course of things, cannot be many, making political pursuits yield to the more rational amusement of cultivating the earth.

"To do this in a small way, I find I shall need a gardener in October next, the time of the one I now have terminating the 10th of that month. You have not only skilful persons of this profession in Scotland, but, generally speaking, they are more orderly and industrious than

¹ Dr. James Anderson, born 1739, died 1801. The author of many pamphlets on the American controversy, the editor of *The Bee* and a writer on many political subjects. His correspondence with Washington was printed.

those of most other nations ; and besides, the dissimilitude of climate between the southern and middle parts of Scotland and the middle States of this country is not great.

“These considerations have induced me to turn my eyes that way, presuming that the emigration of men in that line is now under governmental restraints.

“My present manager (Mr. James Anderson,¹ an honest, industrious, and judicious Scotchman, five years since from the county of Fife) has written to a Mr. Foreman and to a Mr. Harper (whose places of residence and professions, together with what was formerly his own, are to be found in his memorandum enclosed), to procure and send me a gardener. He thinks it is much in the power of Mr. Harper, who, according to him, has been several years principal gardener to Lord Murray, to do this ; but I have desired him to request them to consult and advise with you on this subject before any agreement is entered into, as I shall place more confidence in a gardener who is approved by you, than by them alone, without this check.

“For taking the liberty of requesting this favour of you, and for the trouble it must necessarily give, I shall rely on your goodness and usual complaisance for a pardon.

“I would prefer a single man to a married one, but shall not object to the latter if he has no children, or no more than one or at most two ; and his wife would undertake my spinners and, if required, a small dairy at the mansion house, where the gardens are. The man ought to be a good kitchen and nursery gardener, to have some knowledge of a green-house, and how to raise things in

¹ The reader will observe the identity of names. There are many letters to Anderson the manager.

hot-beds. He would have two or three labourers under him, but not placed there with a view to exempt him from manual labor. He would be furnished with a good apartment, convenient to his work to reside in, and would have an ample allowance of good provisions, with fuel, and if a single man, with his washing also.

“ My manager conceives that such a character, with the assurances here given, might be had for twenty guineas per annum ; but if he should be mistaken in this, and a well-recommended gardener could be had for twenty-five guineas a year, I would allow the latter sum, and pay his or their passage, as the case may be, provided he or they would enter into articles with you or some other in my behalf, to remain with me three years. Four would be still better ; without which, that is for a single year only, I would not encounter the expense of the passage, and run the hazards of being left to seek another at the end of it. Both of us would be placed on surer grounds by the longest term, while one or the other, perhaps both, ultimately, might be incommoded by the shorter.

“ You would do me a particular favour by acknowledging the receipt of this letter as soon as convenient after it gets to your hands, informing me of the prospect of succeeding ; for I shall be without a gardener in October, and cannot engage one here permanently until I know the result of my application with you.

“ With great esteem, I am, etc.

“ P. S.—Upon second thought, it appears best, that the letters of my manager to Mess^{rs} Foreman and Harper should pass under cover with this letter, open to you, that you may know precisely what is requested of them, and give your advice accordingly.”

A letter to one of his relatives, of nearly the same date, is more amusing reading for us than it was for him who received it.

“MOUNT VERNON, July 12, 1797.

“DEAR SIR:—I perceive by your letter of the 7th inst. that you are under the same mistake that many others are, in supposing that I have money always at command.

“The case is so much the reverse of it, that I found it expedient, before I retired from public life, to sell all my lands (near 5,000 acres) in Pennsylvania, in the counties of Washington and Fayette, and my lands in the Great Dismal Swamp in Virginia, in order to enable me to defray the expenses of my station and to raise money for other purposes.

“That these lands might not go at too low a rate (for they sold much below their value), I was induced, after receiving prompt payment for part, to allow credit for the remainder of the purchase money, in obtaining payment of which from two of the purchasers I find much difficulty; but a third having within these few days paid me an instalment of three thousand dollars, I will, rather than you should be compelled to sell your land, lend you a third of them, altho' it will be inconvenient for me to do so; and may be the means of retarding the purchase of wheat for my mill; which, for want of it, has been very unproductive to me for several years,—I might indeed say an expense to me.

“It is because you have assured me that misfortunes have brought on your present difficulties (tho', by the way, let me observe, if you had inspected, as you ought, the stacking of your wheat more closely, the spoiling

thereof might have been avoided), and because I have heard that you are industrious and sober, that I put myself to the inconvenience of parting with the above sum ; for I would not lend it for the purpose of enabling you to indulge in any thing that is not strictly economical and proper ; and I shall add further, that it will be my expectation that the money be immediately applied to the uses for which you have required it. For you may be assured, that there is no practice more dangerous than that of borrowing money (instance as proof the case of your father and uncles), for when money can be had in this way, repayment is seldom thought of in time ; the interest becomes a moth ; exertions to raise it by dint of industry cease ; it comes easy and is spent freely, and many things indulged in that would never be thought of, if to be purchased by the sweat of the brow ; in the mean time, the debt is accumulating like a snow ball in rolling. I mention these things to you, because your inexperience may not have presented them to your mind ; but you may rely on it, that they are indubitable facts, and have proved the ruin of thousands before suspected. Great speculation and sometimes trade may be benefited by obtaining money on interest, but no landed estate will bear it.

“ I do not make these observations on account of the money I have purposed to lend you, because all that I shall require is, that you will return the net sum when in your power, without interest. I am, etc.”

President Adams had felt compelled to call a special session of Congress. French cruisers had seized American vessels and every thing looked like war. But as late as October of that year,

Washington hopes for peace, and expresses that hope in the following letter to Mr. Goodhue :

“ MOUNT VERNON, Oct. 15, 1797.

“ DEAR SIR:—No man wishes more devoutly than I that a stop was put to the further effusion of blood, that harmony was restored to all nations, and that justice was done to ours,—but I must confess, that my hopes of seeing them accomplished soon, exceed my expectation. The affairs of Europe seem to me to be in so perturbed a state, and the views of the principal actors so discordant, that it is not easy on rational principles and fair calculation to predict events.

“ Nothing is wanting in ourselves to steer clear of the vortex of misery, which has brought so many of the nations of Europe to the brink of ruin in this desolating war, but unanimity, and if a steady adherence to the principles which have hitherto directed our councils, are unable to effect this, they will, nevertheless, I hope, avert the evils which otherwise might be expected to flow from the persevering opposition which is levied at our government and all those who stand forward in support of it.

“ This is my creed and I shall believe in it until the contrary is verified, which heaven avert ! Adieu, with very great esteem and regard.”

But the next winter showed that such hopes were vain. Hamilton writes to him on the 19th of May, 1798 : “ You ought to be aware that the public voice will again call you to command the armies of your country.” Washington replies : “ If a crisis should arise when a sense of duty or a call from my country should become so imperious as to leave me no

choice, I should prepare for relinquishment, and go with as much reluctance from my present peaceful abode as I should go to the tombs of my ancestors."

On the 22d of June, President Adams wrote him : "I must tax you sometimes for advice. We must have your name, if in any case you will permit us to use it. There will be more efficacy in it than in many an army." McHenry, the Secretary of War, wrote more cordially : "May we flatter ourselves that you will accept the command of our armies. I hope you will, because you alone can unite all hearts and all hands, if it is possible that they can be united." Before the government had received his answer he had been appointed commander-in-chief and the nomination was confirmed. McHenry came in person with the invitation, and Washington accepted the commission.

He named as the three major-generals, Hamilton, Pinckney, and Knox. This exactly reversed the rank which these officers held in the old army. Knox took this very ill and refused his commission. Pinckney on the other hand, cordially accepted his, and even offered to take rank after Knox. But, as the event proved, all these measures were unnecessary. Early in November, Washington went to Philadelphia to consult with Hamilton and Pinckney as to details. The experience of the old war was the basis of their studies, and all parties felt

the value of the new government in giving just that unity which had been impossible before.

Meanwhile, it was becoming evident that the French Directory did not want to fight with the United States. Lafayette so wrote to Washington on the 5th of September. Writing from Mount Vernon on Christmas day, Washington replies: "If they are sincere in this declaration, let them evidence it by action, for words unaccompanied therewith will not be much regarded now."

It distressed him that his dear Virginia, of all the States, should be the leader of the Anti-National party. He had learned not to call Virginia his country, as he did in those early letters, but to consider himself as a citizen of a larger country. There is a long and careful letter to Patrick Henry, to induce the old man to leave private life and enter into the National party in Virginia, against the efforts made by Jefferson. The letter to Lafayette shows that he had no confidence in the French Directory; and, indeed, all the national dealings with the Directory, at that time, show that the individual members were wholly corrupt, and that they could not be depended upon to keep faith with any one.

But there was no danger of any immediate invasion of this country. The Directory had complications at home, and a certain Napoleon Bonaparte was bringing in sense in the place of

nonsense. Although, through the year 1799, there was no formal peace, there was no longer any immediate threat of war, and the military operations of that summer consisted in the gathering of an army and flotilla at Cincinnati, ready to go down the Mississippi and take New Orleans.

Mount Vernon was occupied in the spring-time with more attractive cares. Miss Custis, to whom Washington had addressed that amusing letter about her heart and its management, had found out that Lawrence Lewis was the right man. He was Washington's nephew, the son of his sister Elizabeth. His uncle had invited him to Mount Vernon to take that oversight of its hospitalities which was almost impossible for so old a man as himself. "As both your aunt and I are in the decline of life, and regular in our habits, especially in our hours of rising and going to bed, I require some person to ease me of the trouble of entertaining company, particularly of nights, as it is my inclination to retire (unless prevented by very particular company I always do retire) either to bed or to my study soon after candle light."

Lawrence Lewis, as has been said, began to live at Mount Vernon at the beginning of 1798. He was fond of Miss Nelly, and she appears to have been fond of him. A Mr. Carroll, a son of Charles Carroll, of Carrollton, seems to have come across the stage, together with other suitors, but

there is no evidence of any real break in the stream of true love. Lawrence and Nelly were married on his uncle's birthday, 1799.

The following is one of his notes of advice to his wife's grandson :

TO GEORGE WASHINGTON PARKE CUSTIS.

“ MOUNT VERNON, 7th Jan., 1798.

“ System in all things should be aimed at, for in execution it renders every thing more easy. If, now and then of a morning before breakfast, you are inclined, by way of change, to go out with a gun, I shall not object to it, provided you return by the hour we usually sit down to that meal.

“ From breakfast until about an hour before dinner (allowed for dressing and preparing for it, that you may appear decent), I shall expect you will confine yourself to your studies, and diligently attend to them, endeavoring to make yourself master of whatever is recommended to or required of you. While the afternoons are short and but little interval between rising from dinner and assembling for tea, you may employ that time in walking or any other recreation. After tea, if the studies you are engaged in require it, you will, no doubt, perceive the propriety and advantage of returning to them until the hour of rest.

“ Rise early, that by habit it may become familiar, agreeable, healthy, and profitable. It may, for a while be irksome to do this, but that will wear off, and the practice will produce a rich harvest forever after, whether in the public or private walks of life.

“ Make it an invariable rule to be in place (unless extra-

ordinary circumstances prevent it) at the usual breakfasting, dining, and tea hours. It is not only disagreeable, but it is also very inconvenient for servants to be running here and there and they know not where, to summon you to them, when their duties and attendance on the company, who are seated, render it improper.

“Saturday may be appropriated to riding, to your gun, or to other proper amusements.

“Time disposed of in this manner makes ample provision for exercise, and every useful or necessary recreation, at the same time that the hours allotted for study, *if really applied to it*, instead of running up and down stairs and wasting them in conversation with any one who will talk with you, will enable you to make considerable progress in whatever line is marked out for you; and that you may do it is the sincere wish of, etc.”

We have said but little of the share which Mrs. Washington took in her husband's affairs, but it ought not to be supposed that she was by any means a cipher in the family economy. At some period of her life, perhaps after his death, she took the precaution, which all historians regret, of destroying almost every letter which she had ever written to him, or which he ever wrote to her. We, therefore, know a great deal more of his relations with many people, with whom he had very little to do, than, what passed between him and her. But there are left some little memorandum-books, which she probably thought too trivial to destroy, and which, by the kindness of her descendant, the

present possessor,¹ we have been permitted to use. These letters show that she carried on the estate, so far as her share of the business went, with the same accuracy with which her husband attended to outdoor affairs.

In the little note-book of 1798, she tells us that they "find a pipe of Mr. Francis's wine and began to use it the 2d." When Washington bought Nelly Curtis's harpsichord, he paid \$1,000 for it. This was in 1797. Before 1798, there was a "forte-piano" at Mount Vernon. Mrs. Washington's entries show that she paid \$5 for tuning the forte-piano and \$3 for tuning the harpsichord.

The entries of the year of her husband's death give some idea of the responsibilities of a Virginia matron in those days, which would startle a quiet Northern housekeeper.

July 17th, 1799. In the meat house.

96 hams.

35 shoulders.

33 midlings.

July 31st. Cut out 32 pairs of men's breeches for men.

19th. Gave to Frank Christopher and Marcus each four muslin handkerchiefs to tie round their necks.

25th. Mrs. Law left me.

Nov. 28th. Began to use a barrel of brown sugar.

30th. Gave Mrs. Forbes 5 bottles of rum.

¹The distinguished antiquarian and lover of art, Mr. Rogers, of Baltimore, whose home is itself a shrine for historical study.

December. 22 turkeys from Mr. Robbins the 2d of the month.¹

Some enthusiast at Mount Vernon manufactured at one time the somewhat sombre story, that after George Washington's death, Madam Washington, or "Lady Washington," as the fond instinct of the country generally called her, never left her room, and the statement has strayed into print. She is represented as sitting and brooding over the death of her hero, and looking forward to the moment when she might join him in a better world. Fortunately, for her reputation for good sense and a true piety, the little pocket books preserve ample material for disproving this absurdity.

The year which proved to be the last of Washington's life was occupied as fully as any year before. He is sixty-seven years old, but so far as we can see, his interest in all public affairs is as quick, and his action as prompt, as ever. In correspondence with McHenry and Hamilton, he takes the most careful view of the army which the country was then rais-

¹ Curious housekeepers may be glad to read Mrs. Washington's receipt for cherry bounce, as it stands in one of her pocket books, in her handwriting :

"To make excellent cherry bounce, extract the juice of twenty pounds well ripened Morrella cherries, add to this ten quarts of old peach brandy and sweeten it with white sugar to your taste. To five gallons of this mixture add one ounce of spice, such as cinnamon, cloves, and nutmegs, of each an equal quantity, slightly bruised, and a pint and a half of cherry kernels that have been gently broken in a mortar. After the liquor has fermented let it stand close stoped for a month or six weeks, then bottle it, remembering to put a lump of loaf sugar into each bottle."

ing. So determined was Mr. Adams to be prepared for the war, which he would not have been sorry for, that under his urgency, Congress had ordered twenty-four new regiments to be added to the army. The recruiting of these regiments was going on through the summer, and Washington's letters go into great detail with regard to the appointment of their officers, to the clothing of the men, and, eventually, to the preparations for their barracks through the winter. Sometimes he speaks very intensely with regard to public affairs. In a letter to McHenry, the Secretary of War, written only a month before his death, he says, referring to a letter from him :

“ . . . With the contents of which I have been stricken dumb. And I believe it is better that I should remain mute, than to express any sentiment on the important matters which are related therein. . . . I have some time passed viewed the political concerns of the United States, with an anxious and painful eye. They appear to me to be moving by hasty strides to a crisis, but in what it will result, that Being, who sees, foresees, and directs all things, alone can tell. The vessel is afloat or very nearly so, and considering myself as a passenger only, I shall trust to the mariners, whose duty it is to watch, to steer it into a safe port.”

The allusion here is to the new mission which President Adams had determined to send to France. A special interest attaches to his last letters, and we publish some which have not been before printed,

because they are among the last. The very latest of all closes the series in "Sparks's," and is a letter to Hamilton on the subject of the military academy. Washington entirely approves in it of Hamilton's plans for this institution.

Meanwhile, through the whole summer, he had been actively employed in his farm operations, and his correspondence relates very largely to the details of his improvement of the farm. The current of visitors kept up, as always. He was, for a part of every day, in the saddle, riding about the estate, and did not hesitate to make up his plans for the next year, as he would have done in earlier life. As late as the 10th of December, he finished a careful new digest, which occupied thirty-four pages, of the complete system of rotation, on which his estate should be managed for many succeeding years.

The following letter to his nephew, Robert Lewis, in Fauquier County, has a special interest, as showing his careful supervision of the details of his estate. It was dated December 7th—only seven days before his death.

"DEAR SIR:—Your letter of the 10th of Sept. came duly to hand, but as there was nothing contained in it that required to be acted upon immediately, I postponed acknowledging the receipt of it at an earlier period.

"The death of Mr. Aïress, of which I have been informed, and the direct conveyance afforded by your brother Howell's return, have induced me to write you at this time.



WASHINGTON MEDAL (1776).

“ You will perceive by the letter herewith enclosed, in what manner my land in Hampshire is treated. It is more than probable, if some effectual stop cannot be put to such depredations, that it will be stripped of all its timber.

“ You will have heard that Nellie Lewis has a girl born. She, Mrs. Washington, and the family unite with me in best wishes for yourself, Mrs. Lewis, and the children, and, I am

“ Dear sir, your sincere friend and affectionate uncle,

“ G. WASHINGTON.

“ MR. ROBERT LEWIS.”

Washington's final illness was very short. On the morning of the 12th of December, 1799, after he had written the letter to Hamilton of which we have spoken, he went out to ride as usual, about ten o'clock. About one o'clock, as he notes in his diary, it began to snow, soon after to hail, and then turned to a settled cold rain. He was dressed with an overcoat, however, continued his ride, and did not return home till after three o'clock.

Mr. Lear, his secretary, brought him some letters to frank for the post-office, as was the custom of that time. Washington franked the letters, but said that the storm was too severe to send a servant to the post-office. When Lear observed that he was wet himself, from the storm, the snow still hanging on his hair, he said no ; that his great-coat had kept him dry. So little did he think of

his exposure, that he sat down to his late dinner without changing his dress.

The next day it was evident that he had taken cold. The snow was still falling and he did not ride, but in the afternoon he walked out and gave directions for trimming the shrubbery in front of the house. It was observed that he was more hoarse in the evening than he had been, but he himself made light of his cold.

In the middle of the night, however, he was taken extremely ill with ague and difficult breathing. Dr. Craik was sent for, and Rollins, one of the overseers, bled him. Half a pint of blood was taken from his arm. External applications were made to the throat, and his feet were bathed in warm water. But the difficult breathing continued.

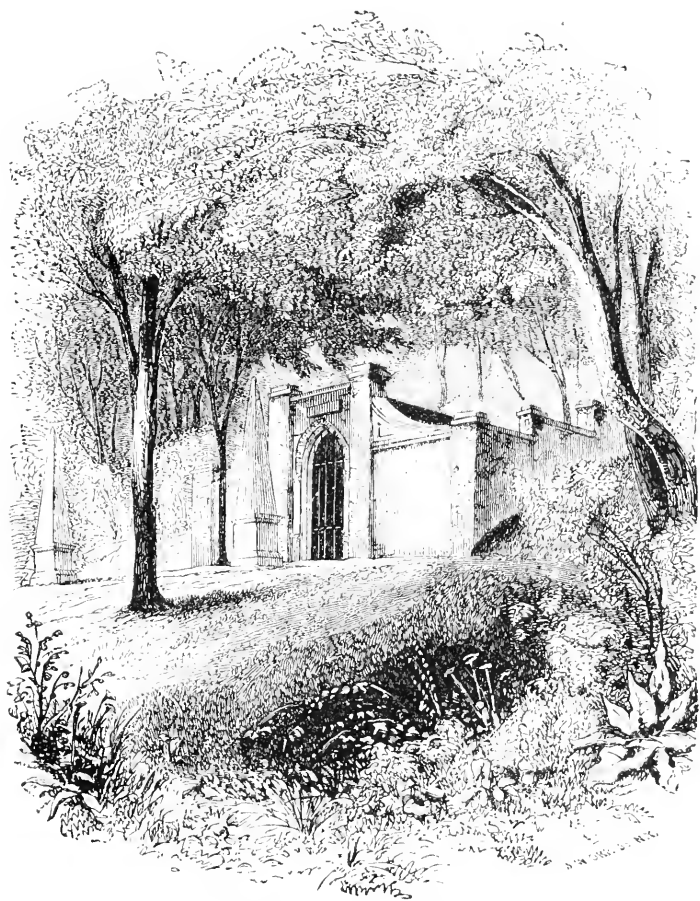
His old friend, Dr. Craik, arrived between eight and nine o'clock, and was in attendance with two other physicians till the end. He was bled again, but he was sure, himself, that the end of his life had come. He called Mrs. Washington and asked her to bring two wills, which she did. He then gave her one which was superseded by the other, and asked her to burn it. At ten in the evening he made a last effort to speak, gave to Lear some directions for his burial, and said, "I am just going." He then looked at Lear again, and said: "Do you understand me?" Lear replied, "Yes."

"It is well," said he ; and these were Washington's last words.

The impression gained ground not very long after Washington's death, that the medical treatment on this occasion was bad, and that he was really killed by his physicians. Whether he were killed by their using a treatment too heroic, or whether their fault was that their treatment was not heroic enough, was more doubtful. There was no doubt, from Mr. Lear's full account, that, when he was bled, he asked that more blood might be drawn. There was no doubt, also, that Mrs. Washington dreaded more bleeding, for a man of his age.

When Mr. Everett published his interesting life of Washington, he submitted the question, regarding the medical treatment of the dying man, to Dr. James Jackson, who was justly regarded the Nestor of the science of medicine in New England. Dr. Jackson wrote a very interesting monograph on this subject, dated March, 1860. It is evident that he regards the wisdom of the treatment of Washington as an open question. It might have been necessary, he says, to draw blood severely, "but who would advise the active treatment requisite for this purpose in every case of a hoarse cold, which is the first stage in every such case? The severe disease may ensue, but what is the chance that it will come? A very large proportion of persons, probably three quarters of the community, have such a cold once a year, and not a few have such an attack twice or three times in a year. But a change into the severe disease called acute laryngitis, is among the most rare occurrences. It does not take place in one case out of a million. But if it happened in one case in a hundred, it would not be justifiable to resort to a severe treatment in each one of a hundred cases in order to save one of them from the fatal change. There is no doubt that every discreet man would choose to incur the slight hazard of the severe disease, rather than to resort to a copious bleeding every time he had a hoarse sore throat."

He says again that he thinks Dr. Craik and his coadjutors have been reproached because they gave calomel and antimony in large doses. He says: "There is no reason to believe that the doses were large. In 1799, the use of mercurial preparations in inflammatory diseases was very rare, I believe, in Great Britain, though it was very common in this country. At the present time the reverse is true. At least in New England, the practice is now relied on much less than in old England. Fashions change, it must be acknowledged, in medicine as in other things. Probably the result, at the end of another fifty years, will be that mercurials will not be administered



TOMB OF WASHINGTON AT MOUNT VERNON.

in either country, as freely as they have been heretofore, but that they will not be abandoned altogether."

Dr. Jackson does suggest that the modern operation for opening into the trachea below the diseased part of the throat gives an opportunity for prolonging life, "while a chance is afforded for the subsidence of the disease, by a natural process, after which the wound may be allowed to heal up. This practice has been resorted to with success in various instances of obstruction in the wind pipe, and especially, of late, in croup. But it is important that this operation shall be performed before the vital powers have been too much exhausted by the painful and wearing struggles for life." On the whole, Dr. Jackson's impression is evidently distinct, that Dr. Craik and his medical assistants did the best which the science of their time suggested, for a very severe attack of "Acute Laryngitis."





CHAPTER XV.

CONCLUSION.

Washington's Services and Influences—The Mystery That Grew Up about His Moral Character—His Apotheosis as a Kind of Demi-God—His Utterances Treated as Those of an Oracle—The Truth of History—The Human Washington as Revealed in His Diaries and Correspondence—His Power over Men—His Ideas and Ambitions—His Character as a Moral Power—His Life an Evidence That Right Is Might.

IN sixty-six years between the birth of Washington and his death, the condition of his country had wholly changed. As we saw in the beginning of this biography, he was born in a farmer's family, on the frontier of a colony, itself insignificant in the empire of Great Britain. He died the first man in a nation which owed to him more, in the struggle from which its existence was born, than it owed to any other man. At the time of his death, it is a nation, with all the attributes of nationality, with its army, its navy, and its position among the nations of the world, a position well earned and everywhere respected. This position it owes chiefly to him.

After nearly one hundred years more, a certain mystery still attaches to a change so great, and many solutions of this mystery have been attempted

without perfect success. It was the habit of the writers of the beginning of the nineteenth century, to keep out of view as far as they could, whatever was human or simple in the character of Washington, and if they were Americans, to hold him up before their fellow-countrymen, almost as a demigod for worship. There was a habit of giving to his utterances a certain oracular character; and, even to this moment, it is thought enough to say of a given policy that it was recommended by Washington, or that it was disapproved by him; and all question among Americans with regard to that policy is, by this reference to him, supposed to be settled. This unfortunate apotheosis of the greatest man in American history, has, as the century went on, re-acted against his reputation. From this apotheosis it happened, that, for the very few years in which the memories of men would best have preserved the real incidents and habits of his life, there was a certain disposition to suppress such anecdotes as would recall his action and personal bearing, and to leave the statue as it had been placed upon its pedestal, without giving to it human color, dress, or movement.

Fortunately for the truth of history, as has been already said in these pages, he has left us, in collections of his own letters and diaries, very ample material from which we may, even now, check the habit of separating him from the other men in his

time, and may show what were the real characteristics from which sprang his remarkable power. If the work attempted in this volume has been tolerably well done, the reader sees that here was emphatically a man of the people, who grew up in the midst of the people and understood them well. A distinguished modern author was asked how it was that he wrote such good English; and he replied that he supposed it was because he never learned to write Latin. A remark somewhat similar may be made of Washington, not simply, or chiefly with regard to literary style, but with regard to his training for life and its affairs. He was educated by intimacy with men,—and the consequence was that he knew men and knew how to command them. In all exigencies he dealt with men with singular success. The people who were nearest him believed in him most thoroughly, and were most loyal to him. The men, again, who had not known him personally, when they came under his command, or into his immediate presence, were apt to see the reason of what he urged, and to be eager to carry out his wishes. Often, indeed, when the wordy orders of the Continental Congress were powerless with the States, the private letters of Washington to the governors of those States, brought about the results which he needed, and which the Congress had commanded in vain. As the reader has seen, in whatever obloquy or intrigues

his character was endangered, he could always look to the members of his own staff with perfect confidence that they would come to the rescue.

Now this personal power over men may be traced in some measure to the early intimacy with all sorts and conditions of men, which belonged to the simplicity of his early life. In his early boyhood he was the companion of gentlemen and used to the manners of the best society of his time ; but at the same time, and in the same years, he was sleeping in the log cabins of the West, was carrying out the land surveys of Lord Fairfax with the rough pioneers of the wilderness, and was learning to speak the language even of the savages on the frontier. He was never so far engaged in the study of books, as to be withdrawn from the larger study of men and the realities of life. But he knew enough of books to know their value, and, as his later life shows, to use them well. He was accustomed in early life, to those personal exposures and hardships which teach a man what is the value of a crust of bread ; but he was never hampered by the severe restrictions of poverty, and soon carried the experiences of such a boyhood into the careful management of a very large estate. The exigencies of war compelled him in his very youth to serve his country, and so soon as war was over he had the opportunity, which was itself an education, of serving his own Virginia in the annual sessions of her legislature.

Of all this the consequence was, as has been said, that when the American Revolution began, he himself, though little more than forty years old, had had a very wide training among men, knew how they were led, and knew how to lead them. A certain shyness accompanied him from his boyhood, even to his death. But that shyness rather recommended him to those with whom he had to do than injured him. It never affected his resolution for a real purpose; and a fixed determination to carry out the end which he had in mind may be traced all through his correspondence and strategy. He was not accustomed to have things fail to which he had put his hand. He might have said this when he took command of the army. He did say that he thought that this was the highest moment of his reputation. In point of fact his determination to succeed is the secret of the success of the seven years which followed. He may be compared in this to the great soldier whom America has lately mourned, who, from the beginning to the end of the war which gave him his fame, believed in success, "as a Christian believes in his Saviour." There is no moment of Washington's administration of the Continental army in which, however black the surroundings, he does not express his confidence of a result such as he desired.

If it had not been for his singular success, then, the selection of Washington as a sort of demi-god

for the worship of his countrymen would never have been made. That is to say, there never was a man more absolutely human than he, or who has, in fact, left more record of his humanity. He was a man of hot passions, of strong impulses, of vigorous determination ; a man who forecast the future, kept it in sight, and meant to have his own way ; and he was a man, as the reader has seen, who had his own way very remarkably. It would be hard for an ambitious boy at fifteen to forecast for himself a life, which should have more of the tokens of external success than had the life of Washington. Few boys, even of fifteen, would dare to say : “ I will very early in life compel the government of this colony to make me commander of its troops ; I will win everybody’s regard and admiration as I command them ; I will inherit a large fortune, for which I shall not have to work hard ; I will marry the woman I love ; she shall be beautiful and elegant, and she, also, shall have a large fortune ; I will live in the most beautiful place in America, and I will so carry on my estate that it shall be the admiration of all men ; I will be active in the government of Virginia, and will lead it step by step to higher prosperity ; when the time comes I will be unanimously named as the commander of the armies of my country ; in a war serious enough to test every quality, I, of all men, shall be the only man to hold any office of authority, and I will achieve

March 12th. 1744/5

Geo Washington

Beginning this Eleventh Day of November 1749 Æt. 17

G Washington

I am Sir. Y^r. Most Obed^t & L^y Serv. Æt. 25

Fort Loudoun
10th Sept^r. 1757 }

G Washington

Y^r. Most affect^d. Brother, Æt. 44

G Washington

New York 29th of April 1776.

Mount Vernon G Washington
December 10th
1799

FOUR DAYS BEFORE HIS DEATH Æt. 67

the reputation of the first soldier of my time, and I will be made the ruler of the nation which I have created, and I will fill this place as long as I choose, to die honored of all men." Such a dream on the part of a boy of fifteen would have seemed absurd enough, and yet this is precisely what happened to this young Virginian.

Mr. Carlyle once asked an American visitor if he could not take down a little the enthusiasm with which his countrymen regarded Washington. No; if they study the man and refuse to believe him a demi-god, their real enthusiasm will only be the more quick and affectionate. It is undoubtedly moral force which gives him his command. It is not that he writes English as well as Lord Fairfax. It is not that he understands constitutions as well as John Adams. It is not that he is as skilful in tactics as Lord Cornwallis. It is not that, in compelling jarring factions to agree on a public policy, he is stronger than any man of his time or any man since. It is, that in the efforts which he makes in such directions, or in any direction, this man's intellectual or physical force are subordinated to his sense of duty. He does what he thinks he ought to do. He is never thinking of his own reputation. He is never presenting himself to his country or to mankind, as if it were of much importance to him or to them, what they thought of him. Having formed a plan for his country, he carries that plan

through from the beginning to the end. He is determined ; he means to succeed, and he commands success.

It has often been said that here is the finest instance in history of the success of moral power. Probably this is true. This is certain, that the eagerness of men to believe that pure moral power carries empire with it, is the reason why men study with personal interest the life and character of Washington. His success seems to give a warrant for the triumph of humanity. In his success men believe that they will not for any long time be given over to the sway of men who are merely intellectual tricksters or giants of physical force. Men agree to honor Washington, because in his life they think they have a demonstration that right is might.





INDEX.

A

Abercrombie, Gen., his delay in joining the troops, 93
 Adams, John, his letter alluding to Washington, 158; his opinion of Mifflin, 158; letter to his wife concerning Washington, 163; his opinion of the Constitution, 323; inaugurated President, 336; calls special session of Congress, 356; letter to Washington, 358; prepares for war with France, 365
 Adams, Samuel, 152; his opposition to the Constitution, 276
 Adams, Sir Thomas, commander of frigate, *Boston*, 129
 Algerine pirates, 334
 André, Major, 244
 Annapolis, society life in, 129; Washington's journey to, 261
 Arbuthnot, Admiral, arrives at New York, 236
 Armstrong, Gen. John, at Brandywine, 214; author of Newburgh address, 256
 Arnold, Benedict, sent against Quebec, 170; treason of, 244
 Arnold's expedition, Washington's despatch concerning, 172
 Asgill, Henry, 254
 Assembly, Virginia, votes rewards to the soldiers, 87; passes resolves protesting against transporting prisoners for trial, 143

B

Bahamas, powder obtained from, 170
 Barbadoes, Washington's voyage to, 25

Barnwell, George, "Moral Melodrama" of, 28
 Barton, Col., wounded at Braddock's fight, 78
 Beaujeu, commands French forces against Braddock, 74; death of, 75
 Belvoir, home of William Fairfax, 6, 115, 296
 Bermuda, powder obtained from, 170
 Berwick, Thomas, Washington visits his house, 18
 Botetourt, Lord, Gov. of Virginia, 141, dissolves the Virginia Assembly, 143; his message to the Assembly, 144; death of, 145
 Boston, Washington's journey to, 90; Tea-Party, 145; Port-Bill passed, 145; contribution for the relief of the workingmen of, 147; American troops enter, 183
 Bouchier, Rev. Jonathan, teacher of John Parke Custis, 133
 Bouquet, Col., approves Indian dress for soldiers, 103
 Braddock, Major General Edward, put in command, 60; his contempt of the Indians, 69; makes treaties with the Indians, 72; defeated at Monongahela, 75; death of, 77
 Bradwater, Chas., elected with Washington to General Assembly, 148
 Brandywine, battle of, 213, 214
 Brest, French fleet blockaded at, 240
 Bridge's Creek, birthplace of George Washington, 5
 Brooklyn, Howe lands his troops at, 191; American troops withdrawn from, 192
 Brooks, Capt. Christopher, godfather to George Washington, 2

- Brunswick occupied by Cornwallis, 202
- Burgesses, House of, recognizes Washington's military services, 112; votes a statue to George III., 140; observes a day of fasting, 145
- Burgoyne, Gen., his campaign in the north, 211
- Bute, Lord, 151
- C
- Calvert, Miss Eleanor, married to John Custis, 136
- Cambridge, Washington takes command of the army at, 167
- Carleton, Sir Guy, in command at New York, 253
- Carlyle, Major John, letter from Washington to, 71
- Carlyle, Thomas, his reference to Washington's surveying expedition, 42
- Carter, Landon, letter from Washington to, 184
- Cary, Robert, an English merchant, corresponds with Washington, 115
- Chadd's Ford, 214
- Chamberlayne, General, entertains Washington, 104
- Chamousset, 116
- Champlain, Lake, Burgoyne at, 211
- Chastellux, his description of Washington, 241; letter from Washington to, 277, 287
- Chatham, his praise of the work of the Continental Congress, 157
- Cheas, Samuel, letter from Washington to, 204
- Chesapeake and Ohio Canal projected by Washington, 280
- Chesapeake Bay, Howe at, 213; blockaded by French fleet, 250
- Chester, 214
- Cincinnati, Society of the, 267
- Clinton, Gov., of New York, enters the city with Washington, 260
- Clinton, Sir Henry, appointed to succeed Howe, 222; takes his forces to New York, 223; attacked by Washington at Monmouth, 224; ordered to maintain a defensive position, 232; plot to capture, 232; detained in New York by expected arrival of French fleet, 240; recalled, 252
- Collier, Sir George, 237
- Congress, First Continental, prepares a petition to the king, 150; the work of, 157
- Congress, Second Continental, appoints officers for the army, 165
- Constitution, 310; accepted by eleven States, 322
- Contrecoeur, Captain, drives away Capt. Trent, 51
- Conway, Gen. Thomas, 163
- Conway cabal, the, 217, 220; Washington's letter concerning, 221
- Cornwallis, Gen., deceived with regard to Washington's attack on Princeton, 202; out-generals the Americans at Brandywine, 214; surrenders at Yorktown, 249
- Cresap, Col., Washington reaches his house, 18
- Crown Point, Knox captures cannon at, 181; Schuyler determines to give up, 191
- Cumberland (once Will's Creek), 43; Fort, occupied by Braddock's troops after the defeat, 82, Road first proposed, 299
- Custis, George Washington Parke, son of John Parke Custis, 136; letter from Washington to, 361
- Custis, John Parke, goods ordered from London for, 120, education of, 133; marries Eleanor Calvert, 136, letters from Washington to, 221, 228; death of, 251
- Custis, Martha, engaged to George Washington, 104, letter from Washington to, 106; married to Washington, 111
- Custis, Miss Nelly, 350; marriage of, 361
- Custis, Miss Patty, goods ordered from London for, 120; death of, 135
- Custis, Mr., account of Washington's visit to the Kanawhas, 85
- D
- Danbury, Washington's account of attack on, 209; attack on, 212

- Dandridge, Francis, an English correspondent of Washington, 115 ; letter from Washington to, 138
- Davis, Rev. Mr., his allusion to Washington, 84
- Day, Mr., his account of Braddock's fight, 80
- De Grasse, Count, his assistance on the Yorktown campaign, 249
- Delaware River, Washington crosses, 196
- D'Estaing, Count, sent to America with the French fleet, 225 ; engages the English fleet off Newport, 226 ; letters from Washington to, 236, 283
- Detroit, 279
- Dinwiddie, Governor, letter from Washington to, 76 ; convenes Virginia Assembly, 86 ; appoints Washington to command Virginia troops, 88 ; withdraws troops from frontier forts, 97 ; misunderstandings with Washington, 100
- Directory, French, attitude of, 359
- Dismal Swamp, project for draining, 130
- Dorchester Heights occupied by American army, 181
- Dunbar, Col., in command of Braddock's forces, 83
- Dunmore, Lord, Governor of Virginia, 145 ; dissolves House of Burgesses, 145
- Duquesne, Fort, built, 51 ; Braddock's advance toward, 74 ; measures for the capture of, 93 ; destroyed, 109

E

- East India Company, its influence in England, 144
- Elkton, Howe lands at, 213
- England, American successes exaggerated in, 204

F

- Fairfax Convention, Washington presided at, 146 ; resolves passed by, 146, 148
- Fairfax, Annie, the wife of Lawrence Washington, 5
- Fairfax, George, Washington's com-

- panion on surveying tour, 16 ; letter from Washington to, 296
- Fairfax, Lord, cousin of William Fairfax, 10 ; sends Washington to survey his property, 16 ; lord-lieutenant of the county, 88 ; in danger from the Indians, 94
- Fairfax, Mrs., Washington's letter to, 64
- Fairfax, Thomas, owner of Belvoir in 1795, 340
- Fairfax, William, father-in-law of Lawrence Washington, 5
- Fauquier, Gov., letter from Washington to, 110
- Federal city, the, 333
- Federal Convention, meets, 317 ; Washington's diary during, 318 ; adopts the Constitution, 322
- Forbes, Gen., in command of expedition against Fort Duquesne, 102 ; in command on the Virginia frontier, 109
- France, claims the Mississippi valley, 37 ; treaty with, 225 ; sends fleet to America, 240 ; makes peace with England, 259 ; threatened war with, 356
- Franklin, Benjamin, meets Washington at Fredericktown, 67 ; warns Braddock of Indian ambuscades, 69 ; hires wagons and horses for Braddock, 69 ; his plan for guarding the colonies, 70 ; designs first American medal, 185
- Fredericksburg, Augustine Washington moves to, 3
- Fredericktown, Washington joins Braddock at, 66
- Frye, Col. Joshua, put in command of Virginia troops, 50

G

- Gardoqui, Don Diego, minister from Spain, 303 ; and the navigation of the Mississippi, 306
- Gates, Gen., sent to Philadelphia, 157 ; decides to give up Crown Point and Ticonderoga, 191 ; his plans for a campaign on the Susquehanna, 196 ; supersedes Schuyler, 211 ; his suc-

- cess at Saratoga due to the Conway cabal, 217
 Genet, his intrigues against Washington, 333
 George, Fort, the Americans take possession of, 260
 George, Lake, Burgoyne at, 211
 George II., his opinion of Washington's comparison, 52
 George III., his indignation at the action of the colonies, 141; responsibility for the acts of the government, 152
 Germaine, Lord George, 223; his influence in England, 232
 Germantown, battle at, 215, 216
 Gerry, Elbridge, recommends Washington for commander-in-chief, 161; withholds his signature from the Constitution, 322
 Glover, Col. John, commissioned to fit out privateers, 176
 Greene, Gen. Nathaniel, his ability, 165; at Germantown, 215, 216; sent by Washington to D'Estaing, 226; letter from Washington to, 269
 Gregory, Mrs. Mildred, godmother to George Washington, 2

II

- Halifax, Howe retires to, 184
 Halkett, Sir Peter, letter from Washington to, 102
 Hanbury, Capel, letter from Washington to, 139
 Hamilton, Alexander, his opinion of Clinton, 232; in Washington's cabinet, 326; withdraws from the cabinet, 334; letter to Washington, 357; appointed major-general of the provisional army, 358
 Harlem Heights, Washington's headquarters, 194
 Haverstraw Bay, occupied by British fleet, 190
 Heath, Gen. Wm., letters from Washington to, 246, 251
 Hessians, captured at Trenton, 196; desert from the English army, 204;
 Henry, Patrick, his opinion of Washington, 150; visits Washington at

- Mount Vernon, 153; letter from Washington to, 220
 Hickey, hanged for complicity in plot against Washington, 188
 Hillsborough, Lord, announces remission of taxes to the colonies, 144
 Howe, attacks American works on Dorchester Heights, 182; evacuates Boston, 182; takes his forces to Halifax, 184; arrives at New York, 188; lands on Long Island, 191; follows Washington to White Plains, 194; his campaign in New Jersey, 196; suffers by desertion of the Hessians, 204; his advance to Somerset, 209; his efforts to deceive Washington by letter to Burgoyne, 212; enters Chesapeake Bay, 213; meets Washington at Brandywine, 213; occupies Philadelphia, 217; withdrawn from command, 222; censured in England, 223
 Howe, Lord, his first message to Washington, 189
 Howes, the, 189

I

- Innes, Col., appointed to the command in Virginia, 54; rival of Washington, 98

J

- Jay's treaty, 335
 Jefferson, Thomas, letter from Washington to, 244; dislike of the "Society of the Cincinnati," 268; letter from Washington to, 273; his distrust of the national union, 276; appointed commissioner in Europe, 277; minister to France, 298; letter from Washington, 298; in Washington's cabinet, 326; withdraws from the cabinet, 334; Vice-President, 336
 Johnson, Arabella, a relative of Sir Henry Clinton, 222
 Johnson, Thomas, nominates Washington to command the army, 163
 Jumonville, death of, 53

K

- Kennebec, Arnold's expedition up the valley of the, 170
 Keppel, A., letter to Gov. Lawrence, 79
 King's College, John Custis goes to, 136
 Knox, Gen., joins Washington, 181; enters New York, 260; letter from Washington to, 292; in Washington's cabinet, 326; withdraws from the cabinet, 335; appointed major-general in the provisional army, 358

L

- Lafayette, Geo. Washington, visits Mount Vernon, 350
 Lafayette, Marchioness, letters from Washington to, 266, 281
 Lafayette, Marquis de, arrival of, 213; wounded at Brandywine, 213; letter from Washington to, 264; visits America, 280; made citizen of Maryland and Virginia, 281; letters from Washington, 315, 351; a prisoner at Olmutz, 351
 Lawrence, Gov., letter from Keppel to, 79
 Lear, Tobias, appointed Washington's secretary, 307
 Lee, Charles, his criticisms of Washington, 168; taken prisoner, 196; his loss of prestige, 218; conduct at Monmouth, 224; court-martialed, 225
 Lee, Ft., taken by Howe, 194; loss to Americans by capture of, 196
 Lee, "Light-Horse Harry," son of "The Lowland Beauty," 14; his good service in Pennsylvania, 218; letter from Washington, 220; aids in subduing the whiskey rebellion, 335
 Lee, Richard Henry, early correspondence with Washington, 7; letter from Washington to, 302
 Lee, Gen. Robert E., grandson of "The Lowland Beauty," 14
 Lewis, Lawrence, resides at Mount Vernon, 349; marries Nelly Custis, 361

- Lillo, George, 30
 Little Meadows, Braddock's army at, 73
 Long Island, fortified by Washington, 188; Howe lands at, 191; Washington defeated at, 192
 Loudoun, Fort, established, 96
 Loudoun, Lord, joins the troops on the frontier, 98
 "Lowland Beauty, The," 12
 Loyal Hanna, 109

M

- McHenry, James, appointed Secretary of War, 335; letter from Washington to, 365
 Mackay, Capt., joins Washington, 54
 Marbois, Barbé, letter from Washington to, 305
 Marshall, Judge, his account of Washington's reception at Trenton, 324
 Mason, Geo., letter from Washington to, 141; withholds his signature to the Constitution, 322
 Massachusetts Bay, colony of, letter to Congress, 161
 Mathews, concerned in plot against Washington, 188
 Maxwell, Gen., at Brandywine, 214
 Mesmer, his letter to Washington, 280
 Michaux visits Mount Vernon, 315
 Middleburg, Washington's headquarters removed to, 212
 Mifflin, Gen., John Adams's opinion of, 158, appointed quartermaster-general, 173; letter from Washington to, 208; concerned in the Conway cabal, 221
 Mingo, White, Washington's meeting with, 131
 Mississippi River, held by the Spanish government, 302
 Monmouth, battle of, 224
 Monongahela, crossed by Braddock, 74
 Montcalm takes Forts Oswego and Ontario, 98
 Montgomery, Gen., 165
 Montour, Capt., letter from Washington to, 84

Montreal, proposed attack on, 98
 Morris, Gouverneur, letters from Washington to, 328, 330
 Morris, Robert, letter from Washington to, 284
 Morristown, winter quarters at, 203 ; skirmishing around, 204
 Mount Vernon, bequeathed to Lawrence Washington, 5 ; bequeathed to George Washington, 31 ; George Washington makes his home at, 114 ; Washington entertains French officers at, 249 ; Lafayette's visit to, 280 ; the last return to, 338
 Moylan, D., commissioned to fit out privateers, 176

N

Nancy, the, captured by a Marblehead cruiser, 181
 Nantasket Roads, occupied by English fleet, 184
 Napoleon, demands release of Lafayette, 351
 Necessity, Fort, 54
 New England, Washington's tour through, 326
 New Jersey, the American force removed to, 196
 New Orleans, 303
 New York, breaks non-importation agreement, 144 ; Washington visits, 166 ; garrisoned, 185 ; fortified by Clinton, 237 ; American army enters, 260
 Newburgh address, the, 256
 Newport, naval battle off, 226
 Niagara, proposed attack on, 98
 North Braddock, 76
 North, Lord, the popular hatred of, 151 ; his reception of the news of Cornwallis's surrender, 252
 North River, Howe at the, 194

O

Ohio, Washington's tour to the valley of the, 131 ; emigration to the valley of the, 302
 Ontario, Fort, surrenders to Montcalm, 98

Orme, letter to Washington, 62 ; letter from Washington, 62
 Oswego, Fort, surrenders to Montcalm, 98

P

Patriot, the *Virginia*, 145
 Pennsylvania, mutiny of soldiers from, 259 ; whiskey insurrection in, 334
 Pitt, his method of conducting military affairs, 108
 Philadelphia, First Continental Congress meets at, 149 ; Second Continental Congress meets in, 157 ; occupied by Howe, 217 ; evacuated by Clinton, 223 ; Society of the Cincinnati meets at, 268 ; Federal Convention meets at, 317 ; the seat of government at, 333
 Philipse, Miss Mary, Washington's admiration for, 92
 Philipse, Mrs., letter from Washington to, 195
 Pickering, Timothy, becomes Secretary of War, 335 ; made Secretary of State, 335
 Pinckney, Charles Cotesworth, appointed major-general of the provisional army, 121
 Pollock, Oliver, sends powder for the army, 170
 Potomac River, navigation of the, 290, 309
 Princeton, battle at, 202 ; Congress sitting at, 259

Q

Quebec, Arnold's expedition against, 170 ; Burgoyne lands at, 211

R

Rahl, Col., wounded at Trenton, 200
 Randolph, Edmund, declines signing the Constitution, 322 ; in Washington's cabinet, 326 ; becomes Secretary of State, 334 ; obliged to resign, 335
 Representatives, Mass. House of, circular-letter to colonies, 140

Rhode Island, military operations at, 226 ; failure of operations at, 230 ; Washington's journey through, 328
 Richmond, Second Virginia Convention held at, 157
 Rivington, employed in secret service, 260
 Robinson, Beverly, entertains Washington, 92
 Robinson, Speaker of the Virginia House of Burgesses writes to Washington, 95
 Rochambeau, arrives in America, 240 ; his fleet reduced by sickness, 247 ; at Yorktown, 249 ; letter from Washington to, 291
 Rush, Dr. Benjamin, his anonymous letter, 221

S

St. Clair, Sir John, wounded, 78
 St. Pierre, Legardeur de, 48
 Sargent, Winthrop, Washington's instructions to, 177
 Schuyler, Gen., decides to give up Crown Point and Ticonderoga, 191 ; his unpopularity, 211
 Seven Years' War, the, brought on sooner by Washington's journal, 50
 Sharpe, Gov., writes to Washington, 57
 Shelburne, Lord, 223
 Shingis, 44 ; his criticism on the campaign, 57
 Shirley, Wm., appointed to command English forces in America, 89 ; settles question of rank among provincial troops, 91
 Sinclair, Sir John, letters from Washington to, 340, 343
 Smollett, his account of Washington's campaign in Virginia, 56 ; his opinion of Braddock, 60
 Spain makes peace with England, 259
 Stamp Act, passage of, 130 ; opposition to, in Virginia, 138
 Stanwix, Col., in command on Pennsylvania frontier, 100
 Staten Island, Howe lands at, 189
 Sterling, Gen., taken prisoner at Long Island, 192

Strickland, Wm., letter from Washington to, 341
 Sullivan, Gen., taken prisoner at Long Island, 192 ; at Germantown, 215
 Susquehanna, proposed campaign on the, 196

T

Ternay, Admiral, arrives in America, 240
 Thickety Run, Braddock's army at, 74
 Thomas, Gen., 165
 Ticonderoga, Knox captures cannon at, 181 ; given up by Gates, 191
 Trent, Capt., rumor of his capture, 51
 Trenton, battle at, 198 ; Washington's reception at, 324
 Tryon, Wm., leads attack on Danbury, 212

V

Valley Forge, Washington at, 217
 Venango, Washington stops at, 44
 Vernon, Admiral, "glory revived by," 10
 Virginia, letter to Mass., 140 ; pecuniary distress in, 142 ; agriculture of, 341 ; parties in, 359
 Virginian Company, the, 40

W

Ward, Artemas, his great ability, 167 ; seizes Dorchester Heights, 181 ; letter from Washington to, 182
 Warren, Joseph, his loyalty to the king, 152 ; recommends the appointment of Washington, 161
 Washington, Augustine, father of Geo. Washington, 1 ; good influence of, over his son, 3
 Washington, Augustine, Jr., half-brother of Geo. Washington, 2 ; letter from Geo. Washington to, 225
 Washington, Ft., taken by Howe, 194 ; the loss by its surrender, 196
 WASHINGTON, GEORGE, birth of, 1 ; his home influences, 3 ; his education, 4 ; his plan of going to sea,

WASHINGTON, GEORGE—*Continued.*

9; influence of Lord Fairfax upon, 10; his admiration of "The Lowland Beauty," 12; appointed surveyor of the county, 15; surveying in the valley of Virginia, 16; voyage to Barbadoes, 25; takes the small-pox, 30; appointed executor of his brother's estate, 30; inherits Mt. Vernon, 31; his rules of deportment, 31; his surveying expedition beyond the Alleghanies, 42; his council with the Indian chiefs, 44; his interviews with St. Pierre, 45; his diary of the journey, 47; declines the command of the Virginia troops, 50; attacked at Fort Necessity, 55; letters to Orme, 62, 81; letter to Mrs. Fairfax, 64; proclaimed aide to Gen. Braddock, 66; meets Benjamin Franklin, 67; letters to his brother, 66, 70, 86, 206, 224; letters to his mother, 73, 87; letter to Gov. Dinwiddie, 76; letter to Maj. Carlyle, 71; appointed commander of Virginia troops, 82; letter to Capt. Montour, 84; appointed by Dinwiddie to command Virginia troops, 88; his journey to Boston, 90; attends General Court in Boston, 92; visits New York, 92; establishes forts on the frontier, 96; his misunderstandings with Gov. Dinwiddie, 100; retires to Mount Vernon on account of ill-health, 101; preparations for a second campaign, 102; engaged to Martha Custis, 104; letter to Mrs. Custis, 106; letter to Fauquier, 110; his marriage, 111; a member of the House of Burgesses, 112; takes charge of Mr. Custis's property, 114; his occupation at Mt. Vernon, 115; letters to Robert Carey, 120, 124; his interest in agriculture, 123; his daily life at Mt. Vernon, 126; his tour to the valley of the Ohio, 131; an interview with Indian chiefs, 131; letter to Rev. Jonathan Bouchier, 134; letter to Francis Dandridge, 138; letter to Capel Hanbury, 139; let-

WASHINGTON, GEORGE—*Continued.*

ter to Geo. Mason, 141; suggests non-importation agreement, 142; called "The Virginia Patriot," 145; is president of the Fairfax Convention, 145; his high reputation in the colonies, 149; sent as delegate to 1st Continental Congress, 153; his diary in the Congress, 153; his habit of studying political subjects, 156; commissioned to the command of the American army, 157; why appointed to the command of the army, 162; his estimate of his own fitness for the command, 164; takes command of the army, 167; his war policy, 168; sends Arnold against Quebec, 170; his instructions to Glover and Moylan, 176; negotiations for the surrender of Boston, 182; letter to Gen. Ward, 182; his love for children, 184; letter to Landon Carter, 184; sends troops to New York, 185; receives a medal from Congress, 185; summoned to Philadelphia, 187; his first message from Howe, 189; withdraws troops from Brooklyn, 192; at New York, 192; his difficulty in dealing with undisciplined troops, 193; at Harlem Heights, battle at White Plains, 194; letter to Mrs. Philipse, 195; letter about the currency, 195; his retreat through New Jersey, 196; his letter describing attack on Trenton, 200; attack on Princeton, 202; at Morristown, 203; letter to Rittenhouse, 205; letter to Robert Alexander, 205; letter to a negligent officer, 206; letter to Millin, 208; letter to d'Anmours, 209; assists Gates, 211; correspondence with Howe regarding prisoners, 212; at Middleburg, 212; moves toward Philadelphia, 212; his account of the battle of Brandywine, 213; despatch regarding battle of Germantown, 215; at Valley Forge, 217; his prestige with Congress established, 218; letter to the commit-

WASHINGTON, GEORGE—*Continued.*

tee of Congress, 220; letter to "Light-Horse Harry," 220; letter to Patrick Henry, 220; attacks Clinton at Monmouth, 224; letters to Count d'Estaing, 226, 236, 283; letter to Col. Cox, 227; letters to John Custis, 221, 228; reasons for this war policy of 1779-80, 232; letter to John Mitchell, 233; letter to Captain George Lewis, 236; Chastellux's description of, 241; letters to Jefferson, 244, 273, 298; letters to Heath, 246, 251; begins a military journal, 247; conducts the Yorktown campaign, 249; his reply to Newburgh address, 257; issues farewell address to the army, 260; takes leave of his officers, 261; his resignation at Annapolis, 261; return to Mount Vernon, 264; letters to Lafayette, 264, 315; letters to the Marchioness Lafayette, 266, 281; letter to Dr. Craik, 267; his influence upon the Cincinnati, 263; letters to Greene, 269, 270; amount of his personal expenses during the war, 274; his desire for a national government, 275; letters to Chastellux, 277, 287; his visit to the West, 277; letter to Harrison, 278; letter to Mesmer, 280; letter to the Count de Solms, 281; letter to Robert Morris, 284; letter about his journey to the West, 285; letter of inquiry about greenhouse, 286; letter to Dr. Le Moyeur, 288; letter to the Count de la Touche, 291; letter to Rochambeau, 291; letter to Knox, 292; letter to Samuel Chase, 294; letter to Aeneas Lamont, 295; letter to George Fairfax, 296; letter to Richard Henry Lee, 302; letter to William Carmichael, 304; letter to Marbois, 305; letter to Madame Van Winter, 307; appointed a commissioner to regulate navigation of the Potomac, 309; letter to Mrs. Graham, 311; letter to Samuel Purviance, 313; letter to Dr. William Gordon, 316; president of

WASHINGTON, GEORGE—*Continued.*

the Federal Convention, 317; his diary on the Federal Convention, 318; chosen President, 323; his journey through New England, 326; letters to Gouverneur Morris, 328, 330; his second term, 332; his foreign policy, 333; changes in his cabinet, 334; his retirement from office, 336; his last return to Mount Vernon, 338; letters to Sir John Sinclair, 340, 343; letter to William Strickland, 342; his daily life at Mount Vernon, 345; his library, 348; his collection of pictures, 349; letter to Nelly Custis, 350; letter to General Dumas, 352; letter to Dr. Jas. Anderson, 352; letter to a relative, 355; letter to Mr. Goodhue, 357; called to command the provisional army, 358; letter to George Washington Parke Custis, 361; the last year of his life, 364; letter to McHenry, 365; letter to Robert Lewis, 366; his final illness, 368; death of, 369; apotheosis of, 373, 374; his power over men, 376; cause of, 376; secret of his success, 377.

Washington, Lawrence, half-brother of George Washington, 2; his good influence over his brother, 4; death of, 30; his scheme of colonization, 37

Washington, Lund, letter to, about the currency, 195

Washington, Martha, letter from George Washington to, 164; visits Washington at Cambridge, 180; visits Morristown, 203; her house-keeping at Mount Vernon, 362

Washington, Mary Ball, mother of George Washington, 1; success in bringing up her sons, 4; letters from Geo. Washington to, 73, 87

Washington, Richard, letter from Washington, 118

Wayne, Gen., at Brandywine, 212

West Point, 244

White Plains, Washington's headquarters at, 194

Whiting, Beverly, godfather to Geo. Washington, 2

- | | |
|--|--|
| William and Mary College, 15 | Wolcott, Oliver, becomes Secretary of
the Treasury, 335 |
| Williamsburg, convention called at,
146 | Wooster, Gen., 165 |
| Will's Creek (now Cumberland),
Washington leaves, 43 | Y |
| Winchester, Washington equips him-
self there, 43 ; frontier troubles at,
94 ; central fort established at, 96 | Yorktown, Cornwallis's surrender at,
249 |



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Author Hale, E. E.

Title Life of George Washington studied anew.

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